# THE MACCHIAIOLI

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# THE MACCHIAIOLI

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# THE MACCHIAIOLI

## *Painters of Italian Life 1850-1900*

Edited by:
Edith Tonelli and Katherine Hart

Essays by:
Dario Durbé
Denis Mack Smith
Albert Boime
Piero Dini

THE FREDERICK S. WIGHT ART GALLERY
University of California, Los Angeles

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... 8

FOREWORD, *Alberto Boniver* ..... 10

PREFACE, *Edith A. Tonelli and Albert Boime* ..... 11

MAP ..... 14

PAINTERS OF ITALIAN LIFE, *Dario Durbé* ..... 16

TUSCANY AND THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO, *Denis Mack Smith* ..... 28

THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE RISORGIMENTO, *Albert Boime* ..... 33

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE ARTISTS ..... 72

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS ..... 78

COLOR PLATES ..... 81

CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION ..... 93

THE HISTORY OF MACCHIAIOLI COLLECTING, *Piero Dini* ..... 156

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 160

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Wight Art Gallery staff has been discussing and planning the Macchiaioli project for almost four years. During that time there have been literally hundreds of individuals and organizations that have advised, critiqued and supported our work. To anyone whom I may miss in these acknowledgments, please accept my apologies and my gratitude.

Working somewhat chronologically, it was Althea Reynolds from the Department of Italian at UCLA who first suggested an exhibition of the Macchiaioli to me after she had seen the exhibition organized by Professor Dario Durbé in Edinburgh. Neither she nor I knew at that time what it would take to bring a similar group of paintings to the United States. The support of Professor Carlo Pedretti was crucial to my willingness to pursue the idea of organizing an exhibition of loans through the government of Italy, a process with which he has been so successful many times in the past. Rosanna Pedretti also sustained me with the generosity of her time in making key contacts for us. Next, the willingness and enthusiasm of Professor Albert Boime to tackle a new research area in the Italian field, has encouraged all of us throughout the many ups and downs of this process. I am very grateful for his dedication and understanding, and especially for his essay in this catalogue, which is a major contribution to Macchiaioli scholarship.

On the Italian side, there never would have been an exhibition without the dedicated mind, heart and soul of Professor Dario Durbé. He *is* the Macchiaioli Archives in Rome and has performed the most intense, consistent research on these painters that ever has been done. His organizational work in Italy and his writing for the catalogue have been exceptional. It is also hard to imagine the realization of the show or the catalogue without the indefatigable efforts of Lela Titonel, Assistant Director of the Archives. Her cooperation, her moral support and her diplomatic mediation have won her great praise from all who have worked on our side of the Atlantic. Also assisting us through the Archives have been Dr. Giuseppe Fornaro, Dina Gabos, Eleanor Valentino and Bianca Durbé.

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Denis Mack Smith at Oxford agreed very early to write an essay for the catalogue, which gave us encouragement and assurance of the high quality of the background historical material. We greatly appreciate his contribution, which has broadened and deepened the perspective of this publication. The history of Macchiaioli collecting, written by Piero Dini, helps to fill out our understanding of the vicissitudes of the patronage and critical support of these artists.

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which has become the official carrier for the exhibition. I would personally like to thank Egidio Pedrini, Director of Public Relations and Press for Alitalia Worldwide and Sergio J. Pietrobelli and Massimo Massimi in Rome, Elizabeth Aprea in New York and Angelo Scroppo, our initial contact in Los Angeles. Another early booster was Joseph L. Ventress, who helped us to secure funds from the Italian Heritage Culture Foundation in Los Angeles to produce the free brochure. Great appreciation also goes to the J. Paul Getty Trust which contributed crucial funds to the production of this catalogue. Two staff members, Deborah Marrow and Susan Bandes, were especially helpful in guiding us through the process. Support has also come from the Patrons of Italian Culture in Los Angeles, the First Los Angeles Bank and several individual private donors. We are extremely grateful for this demonstration of community support.

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There is no adequate way to thank the lenders for their generosity in giving us this opportunity to experience, enjoy and learn from the works of art in their possession. We are extremely grateful to the public institutions in Italy, especially the National Gallery of Modern Art in Florence, the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome, and the Brera Gallery in Milan, for lending us such a great number of priceless paintings from their collections. Although most of the private lenders do not want to be mentioned here by name, I want to express my personal thanks to them for their special support and contributions to the exhibition.

*Edith A. Tonelli*
*Director*

This exhibition, which took us often into unfamiliar territory, accumulated many additional debts to generous and brave souls who ventured with us into the dark and who cheerfully accepted the midnight call for help and guidance. We here acknowledge our gratitude to this support group: Sanda Agalidi, Myra Boime, Oretta Bongarzoni, Barbara Cinelli, Francesca Di Cesare, Vera Durbé, Alessandro Falassi, Carola Höntzsch, Ulrich Keller, Mimita Lamberti, Cynthia Jaffee McCabe, Sandra Pinto, David Patterson, Shalom Sabar, Cynthia V. Sainty, Carol Lee Shoemaker, Puran Singh, Lilian Staple, Rosanna Maggio Serra, John Tagg, Ettore Tanzarella, Edward Tuttle and Robert Wohl. Finally, I recall the generosity of the security guard at the Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano, Benito De Paoli, who let Mimita Lamberti and me into the museum after it had closed for the day. I take this as a special act of kindness, but it also typifies for us the warm and unhesitating support of our many friends in Italy and North America who made this show possible.

*A.B.*

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Various private collections, Italy

The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is happy to have helped arrange this opportunity for the general American public to become acquainted with the work of the Macchiaioli through the exhibition, *The Macchiaioli: Painters of Italian Life, 1850-1900.* In addition, we are particularly pleased to see this important part of Italy's past become better known to Americans of Italian decent, and to Italians living in the United States. This exhibition and catalogue will play an important role in encouraging new scholarship on the Macchiaioli, both here and around the world. Above all, I take greatest pleasure in knowing that these works will be appreciated for both their extraordinary beauty and the insight they give into nineteenth-century Italian life.

*Dr. Alberto Boniver*
*Consul-General of Italy*
*Los Angeles*

# PREFACE

The presentation of this exhibition is a significant event in the development of art scholarship in this country. It is the first major scholarly exhibition devoted to the nineteenth-century Italian painters known as the Macchiaioli. While it raises as many questions as it answers, it provides the basis for further clarification and exploration of the historical contribution of this group. Who, exactly, can be counted as authentic members of the group? We have named ten: Giuseppe Abbati, Cristiano Banti, Odoardo Borrani, Adriano Cecioni, Vincenzo Cabianca, Vito D'Ancona, Giovanni Fattori, Silvestro Lega, Raffaelo Sernesi, and Telemaco Signorini. We have also included a few paintings by Giovanni Boldini and Frederico Zandomeneghi who were part of the circle, but somewhat peripheral figures. However, we have not included Giuseppe de Nittis, a Neopolitan occasionally associated with the Macchiaioli, because he was only part of the Caffè Michelangiolo set for a few months in 1866.

There are also questions — as there can be with any series of art-historical events that are labeled as a "movement" — about the meaning of the label "Macchiaioli" itself and for which paintings it is now applicable. With the Macchiaioli we have even more reason than usual to be uncertain about the answers because of the limited opportunities available thus far to view any large number of these works together. There is very little Macchiaioli work in the United States, in either public or private collections. The great majority of the known paintings are in Italy, in private hands, and because many were painted on wood panel or cardboard, they are in poor physical condition, making it impossible for them to be seen very often or to travel very far. Thus, the research that has been done on the Macchiaioli has been primarily in Italy — with two outstanding American exceptions in the work of Dr. Norma Broude and Dr. Nancy Gray Troyer — and primarily from a biographical and formalist perspective.

The Wight Art Gallery at UCLA undertook the organization of this exhibition understanding the problems of the still-unanswered questions and the limited availability of artwork. At UCLA, it is felt that such an exhibition is exactly the type of project that a university art museum should undertake. A fundamental goal of the museum and of this project is to stimulate new thinking and research in areas that still are being debated. The opportunity to bring over 150 Macchiaioli paintings together in Los Angeles and Boston, and to expand the perspective on them to include their social and historical context, could not be by-passed.

A university art exhibition has the double advantage of being able to explore the latest developments in art and scholarship and to tap expertise in a cross-disciplinary context. Unlike many public museums or private art galleries, it has the responsibility and even obligation to do so. It can build on the excitement generated by the opportunity to bring into the art historical mainstream a cultural formation or individual artist heretofore unjustly neglected and to reinterpret them anew in the light of fresh investigation. Inevitably, examination of the past is related to current concerns. We who have been formed by the past ask of history the questions of our own time in order to learn more about both past and present. Thus the university art gallery helps invigorate the study of art history, stimulating new interest and fresh research.

This exhibition is the first major presentation of this group organized in North America even though their work has been included in some larger nineteenth-century shows, and in a pioneering exhibition of the Macchiaioli in 1963, circulated by the American Federation of the Arts. Our presentation has been coordinated by the Macchiaioli Archives in Rome and owes its origin to the fact that various faculty and staff members at the University of California, Los Angeles, reacted with spontaneous enthusiasm to the suggestion for such a show. There immediately was discussion about why a large Macchiaioli exhibition had not yet been done in the United States, a country with a major population of Italian descent and whose history and progress is inevitably bound up with Italian discovery and ingenuity. Furthermore, Italy was and remains an international center of art where Americans went and still go to produce art (witness the American Academy in Rome), or just to see the sights.

Annie-Paule Quinsac tried to answer this question in the introduction to her ground-breaking catalogue on *Ottocento Painting*, published in 1972.[1] She pointed out that this singular neglect stemmed from an entrenched French bias that tolerated few rivals. With the possible exception of English art, no other non-native school of the nineteenth century has been so systematically explored by North American art historians. The French connection results from a number of factors, not the least of which is the world art market and its apotheosis of modern art. The formation of the language of modern art criticism was based on the aesthetic ideology of the avant-garde which polarized academic-classicism and an evolutionary sequence of categories such as romanticism, realism, impressionism, post-impressionism, symbolism, and cubism. All of these categories were naturally exemplified in the work of French artists and still constitute for art historians the core of their critical analysis as well as the gauge for evaluating all other artistic contributions.

These stylistic classifications became reified as a set of absolutes and projected on to the pattern of aesthetic developments in other countries. Despite efforts to seek alternatives, terms like "American Realists" or "American Impressionists" have become commonplace and show to what extent scholars have assimilated the international terminology. European critics have often referred to the Macchiaioli as "Italian Impressionists" — as in the Munich exhibition, which was titled *Toskanische Impressionen* — although their first experiments antedated the French school by almost a decade. Some critics even measure the success or failure of the Macchiaioli against the achievements of Impressionism, which itself had a life span not much longer than the Italian movement and its offshoots, and was rudely displaced by Post-Impressionism. The foremost American scholar of the Macchiaioli, Norma Broude, whose pioneering dissertation of 1967 was the first thorough study of the group in English, stated that the group failed to realize their full potential because, unlike the Impressionists, they did not "accept *plein airism* as a valid esthetic premise."[2]

Broude contended that the *macchia* sketches were comparable to academic studies for more finished canvases, and as such belonged to a much older and more traditional system. The Macchiaioli in her opinion could not accept "the immediacy of sensation and response as the primary value of the work of art," and thus failed to achieve "a totally new and revolutionary aesthetic approach." Here the French bias manifests itself, elevating *plein airism* (outdoor painting) into the *sine qua non* of art production. Yet the existence of so many examples of Macchiaioli commitment to "immediate sensation" independent of

preliminary studies would indicate that both the Macchiaioli and the Impressionists participated in the more general historical evolution relating to the spread of positivism in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the Impressionists, whose work reveals varying degrees of sketchiness, derived their procedures from the French academic tradition including outdoor sketching. Finally, outdoor painting did not then, nor does it now, constitute an absolute for sound creations nor can it be used to fault the Macchiaioli whose work is valid for their particular historical circumstances.

This is essentially the argument of Nancy Gray Troyer, another American scholar of the Macchiaioli, whose recent dissertation (1978) explores the impact of photography and Japanese prints on the Italian painters. She sees both their *plein air* studies and studio-finished pictures as part of an "Italian contribution to the nineteenth-century study of light and air and atmosphere." This did not preclude the use of photographs, since with them the painter could study natural effects at leisure and with fewer distractions. Troyer hoped to extricate the Macchiaioli from the narrow regional confines of Tuscany and project them into the larger global context, but she nevertheless did so on the basis of criteria "established for French, English and American painters of approximately the same period."

Although deferring to the hallowed French categories, Troyer (as well as Quinsac) pointed to another reason for the traditional neglect of Italian art. Prior to unification, Italy's art production was based on a collection of regional traditions centered on academies. Milan, Turin, Venice, Rome, Florence, and Naples each formed its own school around its respective academy, often dominated by a foreign ruler who used the institution to propagandize in support of the regime. The regionalization of Italian nineteenth-century art did not allow for the kind of press that French art could command in the Paris Salon, a central clearing-house for the expression of French national culture. The consequent provinciality of Italian regional styles resists the French stylistic categories, and in an age glorifying the avant-garde those provincial styles were doomed to suffer neglect. Part of this had to do with the fact that most of this art was historical-narrative, comprising painting and sculpture that seemingly held fast to anachronism. Yet in retrospect we see that much of what passed for *retardataire* work was part of a strategy to evade censorship, expressing the national will to unification by indirect reference to past glory.

The present scholarly interest in the Macchiaioli grows out of a willingness to set aside the traditional French bias and to view nineteenth-century art production in a larger historical framework. The trend in modern scholarship is to avoid the traditional elitism of the humanities embodied in the "Great Books" concept of Robert Maynard Hutchins, and to attempt to understand both the individual and the product in the context of political, and cultural institutions. This has opened the way to a more balanced view of the avant-garde and stimulated a re-examination of a variety of non-avant-garde categories such as academic art, regionalist painting, feminist and ethnic modes of cultural expression. This parallels a general shift from exclusive devotion to biographical studies of avant-garde heroes and formalist and stylistic descriptions of their work to a more comprehensive social history of art. At the same time contemporary art practice consists in large measure of a revival of figurative and narrative forms which has further relativized the idea of the avant-garde.

Renewed interest in the Risorgimento — enormously stimulated by the publication of Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* in the 1940s — has further contributed to the enthusiastic reception of the Macchiaioli exhibitions. The traditional strain of sympathy in North America for the progress of Italian unity has been reawakened by Gramsci's writings on the Risorgimento. They have proven to be a fundamental source of inspiration and discussion for Marxists and non-Marxists alike. Imprisoned by Mussolini's regime, Gramsci tried to trace the reasons for the weakness of Italian bourgeois democracy and to uncover the foundations upon which the Fascist state had been built. This undertaking engaged him in an examination of the Risorgimento, which in turn led him to his demonstration of the political function of culture, ideology, and social institutions which Marxist thinkers had previously relegated to the theoretically subordinate and non-causal "superstructure." The capacity of the governing classes to wield power through these institutions he called "hegemonic."

For Gramsci the Risorgimento was essentially an agrarian-populist revolution that had a brief chance and then petered out. While he readily admitted the positive nature of the unification of the state, he lamented the failure of the Italian bourgeois revolution, especially when compared with its French and English predecessors. Gramsci's writings acted as a catalyst upon the historical conscience of the younger post-war Italian intellectuals, while at the same time provoking reactions from the more tradition-minded professional classes. He in fact has produced a cleavage between those who subscribe to his revisionist and materialist interpretation of the Risorgimento, and the traditional claim of Benedetto Croce that the inspiration of the modern Italian state lay in the spirit and ethos of liberalism. Croce's "idealist" interpretation ("History . . . is the history of liberty") asserts the immanence of a spiritual force which manifests itself in the ideals of individuals and elites, with the Risorgimento exemplifying this vision in nineteenth-century Italian history.[3] Although Gramsci and Croce disagreed on the benefits of its outcome, as well as the extent of its disappointments, both demonstrated that the Risorgimento itself was not only an event but also a culture, an outlook of theory and practice which had shaped Italian lives and minds.

This opposing political viewpoint extends to Italian art-historical writing related to this period as well. The differing scholarly approaches to the Macchiaioli have been documented in part by Roberto Longhi's memorable introduction to the Italian translation of John Rewald's *History of Impressionism* (1949). Dedicated to the memory of the Macchiaioli critic Diego Martelli ("the only serious critic of our Ottocento"), it traces the Italian critical reception of avant-garde French painting and parallel taste for the Macchiaioli from 1860 to the time of its publication. Longhi's position derived from the general post-World-War-II reaction to Fascism. During the Mussolini era, the Macchiaioli became identified with the ultra-national and chauvinistic propaganda which downgraded the French contributions to Italian culture. Some Italian critics and art historians not only put the Macchiaioli on a par with the Impressionists, but declared their superiority by virtue of their earlier experiments. Longhi wanted to redress what he felt to be an ideological imbalance by putting things into chronological focus, akin to the model of Rewald. As a result, he tended to go too far in the other direction,

keeping a scoreboard of wins and losses in which the Impressionists came out on top. Only Martelli, who was the first Italian critic to appreciate the Impressionists, received his praise. Otherwise, he castigated Italian writers who made Italian painters like Giuseppe De Nittis a precursor of Impressionism, when in fact it was the other way around.

Italian critics began confounding Impressionists and Macchiaioli in the mid-1920s, beginning with Lionello Venturi's *Gusto dei Primitivi (Taste of the Primitives)* (1926), which argued for "the spontaneous character of the primitivism of the Macchiaioli and the Impressionists." In 1928 Enrico Somarè expanded this notion in his *Storia dei pittori italiani dell'Ottocento (History of Nineteenth-Century Italian Painting)*, whose patriotic rhetoric tended to confront French and Italian painters indiscriminately. By the end of the decade, Ugo Ojetti, (important for his collection of Macchiaioli letters and original documents) could claim that sketches of the Macchiaioli were as admired and sought for at home as the rude sketches by Cézanne outside of Italy.

This process of confounding the two on an equal plane continued through the 1930s. In 1933 Venturi compared the Macchiaioli to the Impressionists in an article written for the French journal *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and presented the Italians as a revolutionary group bent on establishing an independent style appropriate to the liberating movement of the Risorgimento. Longhi astutely questioned the generality of this comment, asking which "Risorgimento" Venturi had in mind — the version of the moderate liberal Ricasoli or that of his more radical contemporary Cattaneo. Clearly Venturi — who was to write major works on the Impressionists — sought to legitimize the Macchiaioli by conjoining them with the popular French painters.

Longhi's irritation at the chauvinistic attitude toward the Macchiaioli during the Fascist era is understandable, but he no doubt reinforced Anglo-American art biases stemming from the French categories. The new post-World-War-II criticism in America looked to the New York School as the direct heir of the Paris School which continued to hold up the Impressionists as forerunners of the avant-garde. This apotheosis of the French served to reduce other analogous movements like the Macchiaioli to a subordinate, fringe group.

It was left to Italian scholars to continue to pursue the studies of the Macchiaioli in the post-World-War-II period, but with a new sobriety qualified by the scholarly sagacity and warning of Longhi. Longhi had pointed out the pitfalls of exaggerated criticism, and the new scholars attempted to study the Macchiaioli more methodologically and objectively. The younger generation was headed by the indefatigable research of Professor Dario Durbé, whose work provides the point of departure for every modern scholar of the Macchiaioli — including our preparations for the present exhibition. Durbé has attempted to interpret the Macchiaioli within the strict framework of the Italian, and more specifically, the Tuscan tradition. This explains the emphasis on the cultural heritage of the Macchiaioli and the relationship to their local traditions. While Troyer criticized this approach as somewhat provincial, it was in this way that Durbé and his generation eliminated the chauvinism of the past and laid the foundations for a social-historical approach to the Macchiaioli. They reject comparisons or value judgments about individual styles or movements, but attempt to draw the relationship between history and art in an effort to clarify culture and meaning in both.

Starting with his seminal essay on Fattori in the context of Leghorn's struggle for independence in 1848-49, Durbé has pioneered in laying out the social and cultural context of the Macchiaioli. He helped organize the first major post-war show on Fattori in 1953, and ever since has contributed to the publicizing and promoting of the Macchiaioli, including the founding in, Rome, of the indispensable Archivio dei Macchiaioli. Against the advice of his closest colleagues, Durbé launched the Macchiaioli, although cautiously at first, into the wider community; the resounding successes in Paris and Munich erased all doubts about the international reception of the "provincial" painters. The enthusiastic public reception of these two shows set the stage for the formation of the present exhibition at the Wight Art Gallery.

The 1976 exhibitions made significant progress in relating the Macchiaioli to Tuscan culture and history, and they were followed in 1982 by the outstanding catalogue commemorating the centenary of Garibaldi's death, *Garibaldi, Arte e Storia,* which amplified more fully the historical context and revealed the intimate connections between the Macchiaioli program and Risorgimento policy.

This current exhibition brings together many of the ideas from those separate endeavors, and in the process, makes possible a discovery of new connections and areas for further research. We have introduced the Macchiaioli with a presentation of their historical and cultural context and a grouping of some of the paintings they produced in direct response to the events of the Risorgimento. From there on, we have grouped paintings primarily chronologically, with separate sections for work produced by Fattori at Leghorn and by several artists around Diego Martelli's estate at Castiglioncello and in the countryside at Piagentina. In a final, very large and mixed grouping we have placed work produced by the Macchiaioli in primarily the last three decades of the century and labeled it "Later Tuscan Realism." Some of the paintings in this last group can be seen as relating to other European naturalist and realist styles, but it is essentially a mixture of the work of ten individual artists who had come together in the 1860s to share a common approach to painting, and then maintained contact with each other for most of their lives.

It is hoped that bringing such a large number of these paintings to the United States, and presenting them with both an historical context and within groupings that reflect the sequence and situations in which they were originally produced, will promote new ways of understanding the work of the Macchiaioli painters and encourage further study of these historically and culturally significant painters.

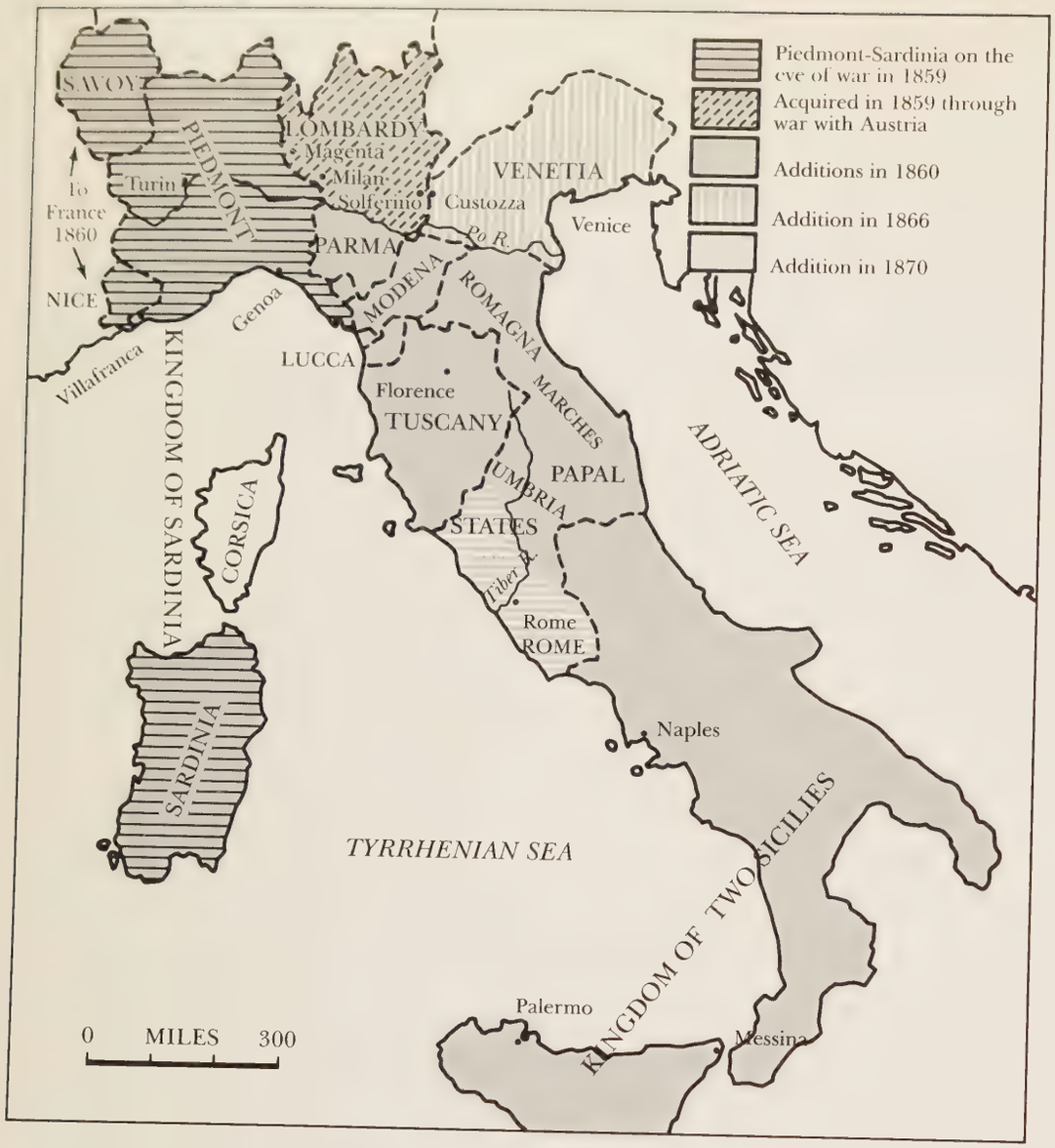
*Edith A. Tonelli* *Albert Boime*

*NOTES*

1. All volumes cited here are references to items in the list of Selected Exhibitions or the Selected Bibliography in this catalogue.
2. In a recent telephone conversation, Dr. Broude has informed us that her forthcoming book on the Macchiaioli *(The Macchiaioli: Italian Painters of the Nineteenth Century,* Yale University Press) takes a fresh perspective on the group and their historical context, and refines some of her earlier assertions.
3. The Crocean vision of the Risorgimento is seen in his comparison of the movement with a great work of art:

   > If it were possible in political history to speak of masterpieces as we do in dealing with works of art, the process of Italy's independence, liberty, and unity would deserve to be called the masterpiece of the liberal-national movements of the nineteenth century: so admirably does it exhibit the combination of its various elements, respect for what is old and profound innovation, the wise prudence of the statesmen and the impetus of the revolutionaires and the volunteers, ardor and moderation; so flexible and coherent is the logical thread by which it developed and reached its goal. It was called the Risorgimento, just as men had spoken of a rebirth of Greece, recalling the glorious history that the same soil had witnessed; but it was in reality a birth, a *sorgimento*, and for the first time in the ages there was born an Italian state with all and with only its own people, and molded by an ideal.

# THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1859-70



## *PAINTERS OF ITALIAN LIFE*

*by Dario Durbé*

## *TUSCANY AND THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO*

*by Denis Mack Smith*

## *THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE RISORGIMENTO*

*by Albert Boime*

# PAINTERS OF ITALIAN LIFE

*by Dario Durbé*

In the last ten years the work of the Macchiaioli has generated a considerable amount of interest outside of Italy, even more so than in Italy itself. The art of the Macchiaioli has always had its admirers in Italy, of course; the enthusiasm of a number of collectors led in fact to the development — between 1920 and the onset of World War II — of a whole body of critical literature on the Macchiaioli. These critical writings tended, unfortunately, to indulge in excessive praise (and at times hyperbole) when discussing these Tuscan painters. Yet, at the same time, some exceptionally lucid works on the Macchiaioli, by critics of the caliber of Ardengo Soffici, Emilio Cecchi and Matteo Marangoni, did appear during this period. However, despite the obvious influence that the Macchiaioli have had on *Novecento* painting and even on film in Italy, no real consensus exists on the aesthetic value of their art. In fact, the history of the reception of the Macchiaioli is marred by critical misunderstandings, polemics, and ill-posed questions, as well as by prejudices of a particularly romantic and sentimental sort.

Neither the most militant critics nor the most reliable art historians have ever actually been drawn into the arena of debate on the Macchiaioli. Rather, they have kept a certain distance, as they have done in general with all Italian painting from the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, when Michel Laclotte took the initiative of organizing the 1978-79 Macchiaioli exhibition at the Grand Palais in Paris, there was a great deal of skepticism in Italy. Very few Italians believed that these "amiable provincials" could be of any interest in the capital of modern civilization, and judged the project to be rather risky, if not altogether without merit. Yes, they agreed, the Macchiaioli had been warmly received by the critics in The Hague in 1973 and in Munich in 1975. However, they pointed out, the parallels within the patterns of development of national cultures in Italy, Holland, and Germany contributed heavily to the creation of a positive climate for the reception of the Macchiaioli. In both Holland and Germany, just as in Italy, the specter of the superiority of nineteenth-century French art spawned a series of comparisons regarding the development and value of art in each nation. It was in this context (it was generally agreed) that the attention paid to the Macchiaioli by the Dutch and German cultural worlds could be understood. In France things would be quite different.

This prediction did not, however, come true. The success of the exhibition in Paris was considerable, and the reviews were unanimously favorable. In his preface to the volume on the Macchiaioli published in conjunction with the exhibition, André Chastel — a critic of great eloquence and intelligence, whose evaluation of the Macchiaioli has developed over the years — wrote that Macchiaioli painting was one of the most advanced forms of expression of nineteenth-century Tuscan culture. This was the culture which was able to keep up-to-date with European modernity, while still maintaining its original character and even strengthening its own confidence that "Tuscany will do it by itself."[1]

Since then, first in Lugano (1979) and then in Tokyo (1979), in Lyons, where a special exhibition on Silvestro Lega was held in 1981, and finally in Manchester and Edinburgh a year later, the Macchiaioli have met with a success that can only be called surprising for anyone (such as the author of this essay) who has devoted forty or more years to the patient reconstruction of this whole period in the history of Italian art. For this period is crucial for any understanding of the nineteenth century in Italy — a century that, despite Italy's decline relative to its centuries of cultural splendor, produced such leading European figures as Antonio Canova, Ugo Foscolo, Gioacchino Rossini, Alessandro Manzoni, Giacomo Leopardi, Vincenzo Bellini, Giuseppe Verdi, and Giuseppe Garibaldi.

On the whole, however, the surprise created in Italy by the success of the Macchiaioli exhibitions abroad was hardly justified. Clearly a critical sensibility such as the contemporary one, which examines art as something intimately linked to the social and historical context in which it is produced, could not but accept and appreciate the art of the Macchiaioli. Their work, which is a warm and authentic expression of the dynamics and ideals of an entire society, can at last be seen today for what it really is. If we abandon all intellectual prejudices and adopt the contemporary perspective on art as a privileged means of understanding and visualizing the "real," then we may grasp the meaning of the simple and moving language of the Macchiaioli.

The interest generated by the Macchiaioli exhibitions is also linked to the general attention paid to nineteenth-century Italian history, and to the Risorgimento in particular, in recent years by historians in a number of countries. The renowned British historian Denis Mack Smith has devoted many extraordinarily interesting studies to the Risorgimento and to the "miracle" of the unification of Italy. Mack Smith writes in a lucid prose style which makes his work attractive to a general audience.

The request made to me by the Wight Art Gallery at the University of California at Los Angeles, to do the organizing work in Italy for this exhibition, is simply the most recent sign of a general interest now developing abroad for this rather little-known but fascinating period of Italian history. During my conversations with UCLA Professor Albert Boime, I became aware of the increasing need felt by foreign scholars and students for historical information about the cultural history of nineteenth-century Italy. I realized that the initiative taken by my colleagues at UCLA was intended to provide a means of access to this culture. Their own expectations for the exhibition, and the world-wide popularity of a certain kind of art history, led me to reflect on what my own most positive contribution might be, given my tireless work on the Macchiaioli and my interest in all aspects of their historical context. For years now I have been doing research, going through newspapers and journals, working in archives, and transcribing private correspondence, always in order to clarify the historical references of the work of the Macchiaioli, or the meaning of this or that group of paintings, or period of joint collaboration and research, or polemic, or debate.

I scrutinized aspects of the Macchiaioli's private and public lives, as well as their aesthetic credos and individual artistic positions, and their biographical and human vicissitudes. Into the picture came many more elements and circumstances: art dealers, patrons, academic institutions and artistic associations, places where artists gathered such as cafes, restaurants, theaters, fencing and target practice, aristocratic parties, and revolutionary societies. In short, I had to study many individuals, each with his own make-up, whose history, character, and milieu I attempted to reconstruct.

How does one reconstruct, for instance — except through pa-

tient philological and historical inquiry — the atmosphere of a particular brothel, such as the one in Via dei Ramaglianti in Florence, where Diego Martelli found his future life-long companion in 1862, or the one in Via dei Lontanmorti painted by Telemaco Signorini around 1890? In these somewhat peculiar establishments, as in Guy de Maupassant's Maison Tellier, one did not enter just in order to make love, but also to converse, to drink, to meet with friends, to organize excursions, and to play cards and backgammon.

I explored, in the course of time, the Florentine countryside and the Tyrrhenian coastline in order to locate the setting of paintings or to find, in a changed context, the landscapes portrayed in those paintings. It was often a very rewarding search. Sometimes I would find myself questioning a botanist in order to learn whether a particular kind of tree visible in a Sernesi painting done at Martelli's villa, or certain rows of trees painted by Fattori at Castiglioncello, could still be found there one hundred years later.

All this work, on topics of varying degrees of relevance (some crucial, some simple curiosities), testifies to my interest in historical research. I ultimately choose, however, not to deviate from my strict adherence to the criterion of "quality first" when organizing an exhibition, such as the one in Japan or any of those in Europe. By "quality" of course, I mean not just the formal qualities of the works, but rather the combined richness of content and form.

How can art help us to understand history? In two ways, I think, both of which are equally valid from two separate perspectives on art and its function. The first perspective is the one espoused by the great reactionaries, Viscount De Bonald and Baron De Barante, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. De Bonald first formulated the concept — considered a revolutionary one today — that a work of art was an expression of the society in which it was produced; he used this notion in the famous dispute on the comparative value of the ancients versus the moderns, in which he argued for the parallel development of art and society. De Barante applied the same idea soon afterwards to the history of literature — in regard, above all, to the events of the French Revolution — in order to show how wrong it was for critics to attribute the responsibility for social change to literature itself. He wrote, "Instead of influencing the customs and opinions of a given people, literature is the result of these customs and opinions: literature depends directly upon them, and one cannot change the form or spirit of a government, or the behavior of a society — in short, men's relationships with each other — without (soon afterwards) changing literature as well."[2]

Madame de Staël, Jean-Charles-Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, August Wilhelm von and Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel, the Italian Romantics of the *Conciliatore* group, and many more all the way up to Hippolyte Adolphe Taine and modern sociologists, have developed this idea in one form or another. Indeed, this concept is still fundamental to a large number of European and American art historians who conceive of art not as a mirror of the soul, or as the inspiration for dreams and fantasies, or as the point of departure for the exploration of one's own inner being in relation to the present or past or to one's own origins, but rather as a useful document of the sociocultural history of a given period or a given country. These critics are concerned with the history of collective desires, tastes, ideas, fashion, and behavior.

One exhibition that was designed from this perspective, with a clear didactic intent meant to illustrate various aspects of a specific society, was organized by French and American scholars in Paris with the title "Art en France sous le Second Empire" ("Art in France During the Second Empire"). It was an impressive show which answered many historical questions and inspired the spectator to reflect on the vast amounts of material in the exhibition. However, the coherence and the general strategy of the exhibition required that the work of artists who had once been fashionable but who were now (often quite rightly) forgotten be shown together with the work of artists who were almost unknown in their own time, but who had become posthumously recognized as great artists.

This kind of juxtaposition, which is perfectly legitimate, does not take as its starting point the psychology of the artist, from which one would then go on to make more wide-reaching generalizations of the sort usually dismissed as "idealist" and "metaphysical" by these historians/sociologists. Rather, the chief organizational criterion is rooted in positive facts themselves (as they are called), such as the cultural policy of the imperial government, the official institutions of the state, official awards and honors, the Salons and public exhibitions, and the art market. All these are factors which played a crucial role in the lives of the artists and most likely influenced their taste, particularly in the case of less original talents.

In this kind of research, which is not without its own special kind of fascination, the critic tends to ignore the work of other specialists over the last hundred years or so on the universally recognized great artists. Instead, this critic comes to resemble those influential historical figures who were the masters of taste in the art world of their time, i.e., those critics who paid attention to the repercussions of art in the high society of the period and who treated art as a matter of social prestige or as a source of gossip and/or scandal (even when it involved the likes of Gustave Courbet and Edouard Manet). The names of such great artists, so dear to generations of art lovers, meant little or nothing to critics of this sort, concerned as they were with the merely mundane value of the artists' work.

No wonder, then, if in the catalogue of the Second Empire exhibition, Courbet — even if he is considered one of the major artists of the century — is brought to the reader's attention, in a biographical profile, as "a symptomatic figure illustrating the cultural policy of the Second Empire." This sort of consideration may be crucial for the history of French institutions themselves, but it is of limited relevance for lovers of Courbet's art. It is hardly surprising that the few works by Courbet in the show, as well as the works by all the other great artists exhibited in it, could contribute little to our understanding of the individual character of the artist. The show was not meant to be an anthology of paintings, but rather a sort of typology of nineteenth-century French art, or perhaps a practical manual or handbook of that art.

However, a different position is taken by those who do not insist upon the primacy of the history of high society, its worldly chronicles, and the dynamics of material interests and power games which animate it. These latter critics take such factors into consideration only in order to gain a better understanding of the inner life of an artist. This is the only point of view from which social, economic and political history can be understood and make sense for this second type of

critic. Such a critic works without the use of any analytical tools except for the perspective that the artist affords him or her in order to see, understand, and evaluate external reality. If Giuseppe Verdi expressed the enthusiastic nationalism of his time with such passionate intensity, then for someone studying Verdi from the point of view of his music (rather than from the point of view of Italian political history) this is a sure sign that such a phenomenon belonged to an extraordinary, compelling, collective event.

I place myself in this second category of critics. I am respectful of, and attentive to, the work of those who look at art history from points of view antithetical to my own; at times these antithetical points of view produce extremely useful and necessary information for us all. Yet I cannot give up a number of personal convictions that have developed and been reinforced over the course of time, even at the risk of appearing outmoded. I may fairly summarize my own convictions by the following: art, as such, cannot be considered a mechanical reflection of social life, but only a kind of intuitive self-consciousness which society acquired little by little, step by step. My respect for poetic beauty stems from this principle, to which I remained faithful both in the selection of this anthology of paintings by the Macchiaioli and in the presentation of a prefatory section of works by other painters of different schools, in order to introduce and illustrate the political and moral climate of the Italian Risorgimento.

Albert Boime and his colleagues at UCLA expressed their desire for the inclusion of this introductory section in the exhibition. It can be justified, in my opinion, not just in terms of its didactic function, but also in terms of its ability to clarify — at a visual level — the link between art and politics in the second half of the Italian *Ottocento*. Furthermore, this section will serve to illustrate the differences in critical points of view that I have discussed above. Let us go on, however, to a more specific set of considerations.

Political engagement was a matter of primary, almost existential importance for the Macchiaioli, even though their hopes and ideals met with disappointment. It is difficult to evaluate these artists' political beliefs and actions with all their complexities and contradictions. However, no historical assessment of the Macchiaioli can afford to ignore their politics.

Denis Mack Smith's work is, from this point of view, indeed illuminating, and constitutes an indispensable point of reference, especially for the English-speaking reader. His historical account is lucid and critically sound, and provides a clear picture of the development of the worldview of the Macchiaioli, as well as of the various forms and degrees of their political commitment.

One of the main themes in Mack Smith's work is his view that the political unification of Italy in the nineteenth century was an "extraordinary achievement," even though the actual political results appeared disappointing and even fruitless to many protagonists of the Risorgimento, who had held far higher expectations for their movement. The struggle for unification and independence had been inspired by the promise of democracy and freedom; however, the new nation could not transform itself overnight. The effects of centuries of foreign rule, a long tradition of apathy and political skepticism, a series of deeply rooted conflicts and social contrasts, as well as a tendency toward a kind of spontaneous enthusiasm which could dissolve just as fast as it had appeared — all these things still weighed heavily upon Italy and constituted its complex and contradictory reality. Narrow self-interest on the part of various groups, passive resistance to change, and a series of reactionary backlashes also plagued the new nation. Doubtless, as Mack Smith points out, the generous men and women who fought for the Risorgimento had indeed "expected too much."

It is this very gap between ideals and facts, between utopia and *raison d'état*, between — in short — illusion and reality, that constitutes the background for the development of the poetry of the Macchiaioli in all its different forms. Spiritually joined to the most economically and politically innovative social groups, the Macchiaioli were ready to sacrifice their own youthful lives for the sake of a cause. Giuseppe Abbati lost an eye in the battle of Capua. Raffaello Sernesi lost his life, at the age of twenty-eight, during the 1866 campaign. This tragic and yet noble experience of life and death served as the source of artistic inspiration for the Macchiaioli.

From the very first, the Macchiaioli witnessed with great excitement the wars of 1848-49 and 1859-60. The birth of the *macchia* was marked by their youthful enthusiasm, the gay and noisy gatherings at the Caffè Michelangiolo, the discovery of nature through light and color, and a new delight in the senses. Later, the increasingly obvious contrasts between democrats and moderates made the discrepancy between reality and illusion all the more visible and painful. This discrepancy found its true expression in the painters' adoption of a realist credo.

During the years between the fateful battles of Aspromonte (1862) and Mentana (1867), which saw Garibaldi's attempts to unite Rome to Italy frustrated, the exuberant patriotism of the Macchiaioli was forced to express itself in personal pictorial research rather than in the collective struggle. The first gratifying contact with nature took place, according to Signorini, when political dissent dissolved the Caffè Michelangiolo group. The young painters who had been on the battlefield found peace of mind, and an outlet for their energy, by going out into the countryside to paint. Particularly in the scenes of domestic life painted by Lega and Borrani during the crucial years of the Piagentina period, a sense of melancholy nostalgia and a fondness for simple, familiar feelings in the home replaced the passions of the political activists who once had struggled to establish an independent and united Italy.

Practical problems of various kinds followed the unification of Italy. There was, first of all, the disconcerting and painful fight against the *brigantaggio* in Southern Italy (a fight which cost more lives than all the Risorgimento campaigns put together). Fattori produced a number of paintings on this topic. Then there was the transfer of the capital from Florence to Rome in 1870. As the temporary capital of the nation, Florence had meanwhile been devastated, both in regard to its economy and its urban plan. Everyday life seemed to grow increasingly dull as the fervor of the Risorgimento faded away. There was no new cause on which to focus the patriotic energy of the Italians. All these circumstances (along with a number of others that I will not go into here) combined to make the horizons of life appear increasingly narrow within the confines of provincial cities and towns. A certain *ennui* settled over the work of the Macchiaioli.

The survivors of the Caffè Michelangiolo group did not give up, even though for some of them it had become quite difficult to

earn a living. In 1867 Diego Martelli, although still very young (he was twenty-nine at the time, having been born in 1838), founded — together with Telemaco Signorini — the *Gazzettino delle arti del disegno.* Despite the financial difficulties that its continuing publication presented to the editors, the *Gazzettino* was the first sign of a new attitude towards life and art. It represented a disenchanted, ironic and playful way of looking at things (in the true Florentine tradition), using a language charged with double meanings and puns of occasionally questionable taste that was usually quite entertaining and always constructive. This new perspective soon began to pervade the work of the artists themselves, pointing them in the direction of certain varieties of naturalism which, after 1880, took the name of *verismo* in Italy.

This kind of language, typical of Signorini as a writer, was employed in interesting and original ways in a number of Martelli's short stories, in his satirical social commentaries, and above all in his critical writings and letters. Martelli's exceptional skills as a writer and art critic were most evident later on in his life, when he lived in Paris from 1878 to 1879; there he became a friend of Manet and Edgar Degas, and started sending articles back to various Italian newspapers. His writings, reportage, and especially his 1879 Leghorn lecture on the Impressionists, show a refined taste, a clear and intuitive mind, and an essential grasp of the main developments in modern art.

Martelli's biting prose, bitterly ironic and merciless despite its Florentine elegance and charm, is one of the most eloquent expressions (in the field of art) of the pessimistic, negative attitude which ruled throughout Italy and which expressed the total disenchantment of the Italian people. Giuseppe Mazzini spent his last years in a depressed and almost mournful state of isolation. Garibaldi resigned himself at last to retirement on the tiny island of Caprera, after announcing that although the country of Italy had been created, it was now still necessary to create "Italians." Around the end of the century, the sense of a "betrayed revolution" pervaded the minds of many Italians. The Macchiaioli were caught up in this atmosphere of spiritual malaise and disenchantment. After 1880, Lega proclaimed in a bitterly ironic tone that the guillotine was the only possible cure for mankind itself. In 1891, Signorini — moved by De Tivoli's miserable death — predicted that all those who had created Italy would meet with a similarly ignominious fate. When he was an old man, Nino Costa — one of the artists most directly involved in the political struggle — used to repeat that the Italian people had not really suffered enough in order to be able to appreciate the true value of the blood that had been spilled. According to Costa, the ideals and goals of the Risorgimento were (and continued to be) essentially alien to the Italian people.

These were not just isolated occurrences. The tragic gloom of some passages in Verdi's later works, such as the *Requiem, Simon Boccanegra,* and *Don Carlos,* seems to correspond at times to the composer's reserved sense of pride and to his disdainful isolation. The letters and autobiographical notes of Fattori in his later years are saturated with a sense of revulsion in the face of this threatening malaise. The wonderful etchings from this period, with their tempestuous and dramatic tones, reflect Fattori's morale at that time, and constitute a visual parallel to the concise, strong, and simple prose style of another great Italian pessimist, Giovanni Verga.

In the various phases of development of their creative imagination, then, the Macchiaioli's experience of history and their social ethics of commitment to humanity played an important role. The progressive breakdown of this kind of ethics, and the accompanying sense of growing disenchantment, led the Macchiaioli away from the early passions of the Caffè Michelangiolo period toward the kind of bitter nihilism epitomized by the late works of Fattori, a nihilism which was in itself a reversal of Fattori's carefree and happy youth.

These personal reactions may appear to be subjective and irrelevant to the political historian concerned chiefly with the most momentous and significant events of the century, such as the unification of Italy. It is a matter of intellectual preference, of course; everyone has a different way of perceiving what is truly important and what most deserves attention in the study of historical reality. However, it cannot be denied that the spiritual itinerary of the Macchiaioli — as I have attempted to outline it here — *is* an historical reality, in its alternation of enthusiasm and disappointment at a personal and at a collective level, no less than is the liberation of Italy from foreign rule, the overcoming of political disarray and discord, or the establishment of Rome as the capital of the new nation.

To some critics what really counts are clear ideas, firm intentions, and concrete facts; in other words, what matters are the positive results of critical analysis, rather than doubt, hesitation, or psychological reservations. Yet such mental phenomena, produced within the human mind by historical circumstances, are precisely what is most interesting to those critics who are given over to introspection and to the careful study of human nature. Facts are interesting inasmuch as they set into motion the delicate dynamics of action and reaction which constitute the true reality of the artist. The facts and needs of daily life are almost meaningless and useless distractions when compared to the magic circle of the visionary artist's inner life. The inner motion of the soul is generated by one's contact with the outside world. However, while the person of action looks into him or herself only in order to concentrate and to reflect upon the proper course of action to take, the inner motion of the artist's soul takes on an independent life of its own, and becomes the object of the artist's contemplation.

It is here that art has its origins. Art's autonomy vis-à-vis external events, as well as art's genuine contribution to the life of the spirit, are born of the artist's self-reflective nature. The artist's imagination does not deny or reject its origins, which are located in reality itself. Simply put, it projects this reality onto a higher dimension which transcends specific historical circumstances. Goethe, when he was told about a contemporary playwright who had chosen as a subject the conflict between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, declared that such a subject was incompatible with the true function of authentic poetry, which derives its natural nourishment only from a person's most elementary feelings.

If this were not so, some of the most sublime masterpieces of antiquity, of whose historical context and conditions of production we are totally ignorant, would be incomprehensible to us. Yet these works have the power to move us deeply and to speak eloquently to our modern imagination. The poetic imagination, which draws its inspiration from the depths of inner life, may in some cases lead the artist to disown some of his or her own earlier creations which now appear inadequate,even though they are the product of an ideal, authentical-

ly felt inspiration. This is what happened to Fattori in the last period of his life. However, this process did not signal a weakening of the artist's original power. On the contrary, the creative imagination continued to exercise its power in Fattori's work, although it was sublimated and filtered onto a higher plane of expression.

I experienced the force of that imagination in my own life (if I may be allowed to introduce a few personal remarks at this point) when I found that — at the age of twenty-five, immediately after World War II — Fattori's desolate vision of Umbertine Italy and the bitter protest of his last few years still addressed the problems and the malaise of contemporary post-war Italy. Fattori's vision had the effect of stimulating in us the will to act. One could say of Fattori's pessimism what Francesco De Sanctis said earlier of the pessimism of Giacomo Leopardi: "If fate had prolonged his life until 1848, one feels that he would have stood by us, comforting us and struggling alongside us."[3] In a similar way, Fattori's agnosticism in his old age served as an inspiration to political engagement, even for those people who had — up until that time — stood quite removed from politics. Such was the power of the last works by the Leghorn painter, so intensely passionate and uncompromising.

This sort of consideration may help us to understand the value that the study of political history — when conducted rigorously and objectively — may hold for art history, or rather, for the kind of art history which is intent upon reconstructing the indissoluble historical unity of thought and action, poetry and politics, reflection and ethics. Baron de Barante's denial of the influence of literature on historical events appears to be too one-sided and too simplistic from a philosophical point of view. Revolutionary situations are in fact partly the product of deep spiritual currents, or of the archetypes of the collective unconscious (if we choose to employ psychological terminology). Such currents and archetypes — whose historical development and transformation can be seen in the language of art — operate within the individual psyche, predisposing it to this or that kind of action, in conjunction, of course, with external circumstances.

I say this by way of concluding my preliminary remarks, in order to clarify my own position as a scholar and my disagreement with the reactionary bias of the sociological approach to art (which considers art as the direct expression of a given society). I believe in fact that an historically revolutionary phenomenon cannot correspond to the dominant ideology of a society or be a simple utilitarian expression of its power structure. What instead characterizes, to my mind, a free, new, and creative kind of art is precisely the artist's anticonformist attitude, the irreverent adherence to one's own authentic being, and the refusal to take the opinion of the majority as the only authority. Or, to cite Signorini (who in turn paraphrased Pierre Joseph Proudhon), "Freedom, like reason, exists and manifests itself only through the endless rejection of its own works. Freedom dies when it starts to worship itself."[4]

Now, to come at last to the specific subject of this essay after such a long preliminary excursus, the question that comes to mind immediately is: in what sense can the Macchiaioli be considered "painters of Italian life?" Certainly not because some of them painted battle scenes from the Risorgimento, or because they fought alongside Garibaldi during the struggle for the unification of Italy. Nor can they be defined "painters of Italian life" just because they documented some aspects of Italian life, especially their immediate surroundings — domestic scenes of middle-class life, friends' faces and corners of studios, public gathering places, or spots in the city that were the setting of their day-to-day activities. The Macchiaioli seem in particular to have been artists of their own time because they answered an increasingly pressing demand for landscape painting (a genre of which they were particularly fond) which was then growing in the art world. Yet not even for their portrayals of favorite and frequently visited sites can the Macchiaioli today be considered "painters of Italian life."

They were painters of Italian life only inasmuch as they were *painters*. Only by emphasizing this word, "painters," does the phrase reveal its true meaning. There were in fact many people capable of using pencil and paintbrush who worked for the Italian cause in a purely practical or didactic manner. Their work is, more often than not, much more eloquent from a documentary and didactic point of view than is the work of the Macchiaioli. There were also many skilled genre painters, portrait painters and landscape painters at work in every region of Italy. However, very few of them had the special, natural ability to merge with the intuitive consciousness of the Italian people.

The Macchiaioli were not the only true painters to come out of that historical period. However, for the richness of their work, as well as for their different personalities and the nature of their poetic inspiration, they have to be placed in a privileged elite. This is due partly to the coherence of their artistic program and partly because of the important cultural and political role played by Tuscany at that time.

From this point of view, the development of the Macchiaioli's pictorial language and the history of their fundamental discovery — the *macchia* — are most instructive. The *macchia* came into existence and grew as a conscious reaction to the high-flown rhetoric which had been developed in conjunction with the political events of the Risorgimento. Such a rhetoric, which was the product of political enthusiasm and emotional exuberance, was at first the language adopted by the soldier-painters themselves as the expression of their feelings as the "generation of 1848." Around the end of the 1850s, however, the inadequacy of this language became increasingly obvious. It was no longer a viable means of expression for them; its pompous vocabulary stood in direct contradiction to their personal feelings, their everyday lives, and their authentic experiences as men.

Most of these painters came from a lower-middle-class background. The hard-working lower-middle class (composed chiefly of artisans and merchants) had only recently been able to establish a separate identity from the lower class, while still maintaining many of the latter's habits and modes of behavior. It had, it is true, immediately endorsed the ideals of Unification and had enthusiastically subscribed to the great Italian civil and political tradition. Such ideals were, however, chiefly the province of much higher social strata, particularly the landed aristocracy (which had become politically liberal as a result of the rising middle-class civilization that had at last taken root in Italy) and the bourgeoisie which, given its rapid accumulation of capital, now aimed to assimilate itself as far as possible into the ruling aristocracy.

The lofty style which had found literary expression first of all in

Vittorio Alfieri's tragedies, and later on in the poetry and prose of Ugo Foscolo, had served as the authentic realism of the generations which, between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, identified with the "virtue" *(virtù)* of the ancients. The same thing had happened in France with the Jacobin neo-Classicism of artists such as Jacques-Louis David. Those were, in France, the heroic years of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, whose life style fascinated and seduced all the members of the aristocracy and the middle class in Italy who were receptive to social innovation and progress.

The works that the young Macchiaioli read, however, contained only a distant echo of that lofty style: Giovanni Battista Niccolini's overly rhetorical imitation of Alfieri, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi's vehemence and bombast (in the style of Lord Byron), and the patriotic historical narrative of the Marchese Massimo D'Azeglio (who was also a politician and a painter). These writers were in many ways the spiritual fathers of politically inspired historical painting, a genre at which nearly all the Macchiaioli tried their hand at the beginning of their movement. It was Francesco Hayez, Giuseppe Bezzuoli, Michelangiolo Grigoletti, and D'Azeglio who had introduced this "troubador style" of painting into Italy which, although originally nostalgic and reactionary in nature, took on the opposite political color in the new historical context. This kind of history painting, dictated by noble sentiments, had become outdated for the Macchiaioli by about 1860. The need for sincerity in art was starting to be deeply felt at this time, and every artificial and inauthentic form of expression was — as a result — becoming discredited.

Romanticism had in many ways cleared the ground for such a change to occur. In 1813, Laurence Sterne's playful and ironic masterpiece, *Sentimental Journey,* was translated into Italian by Foscolo, who at the time was residing at the Bellosguardo villa in Florence. Walter Scott's novels were translated and widely read in Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1827 Alessandro Manzoni brought his masterpiece, *I promessi sposi (The Betrothed),* to Florence in order to "bathe it in the waters of the Arno River" (as he was fond of saying), that is, to "correct" its style and rewrite it in the Tuscan dialect, purging it of all Lombard forms.

These were all examples of, and invitations to work in, a new kind of style which corresponded to the nature and ethics of contemporary life and was in contrast to the more formal aspects of neo-Classicism. This "new style" was a dynamic and less rigidly formal means of expression than the lofty style which preceded it; it did not carry the burden of excessive erudition and pedantry which had long been ingrained in Tuscan culture. It had its literary equivalent in the somewhat ribald textual tradition that stretched from Il Burchiello to Giuseppe Giusti. The group of artists who gathered at the Caffè Michelangiolo were entirely receptive to the appeal of the new style. The art of caricature was developed and made popular through the work of Angiolo Tricca. An illustrious literary historian, Paolo Emiliani Giudici (who was the first to publish a literary history of Italy that took into account the nation's historical and social conditions), was also an habitué of the Caffè Michelangiolo, and provided the artists who gathered there with unexpected topics of discussion.

Giudici had moved from his native Sicily to Florence in 1843 for political reasons. He was an extremely talented and high-spirited man who possessed a solid knowledge of French and English literature. His easy-going, open, and communicative nature, as well as the fact that as a young man he had also been a painter, made him an important influence on the group, a fact that up until now has gone unnoted. His influence led the Macchiaioli in an anti-rhetorical direction favoring a style which was, as far as possible, both a genuine and a direct expression of reality. Giudici himself provided an example of such a style in his *Storia delle belle lettere in Italia (History of Italian Literature)* (1844), and in a novel entitled *Beppe Arpia* (1852). In the development of this new artistic trend, however, nothing was more influential than the immense success of the opera. In the mind of the entire Italian people opera was seen as the foremost example of direct artistic expression.

The Macchiaioli, then, drew upon a wide variety of human, literary, and artistic sources of inspiration as they developed the *macchia* technique. The principles of truth, simplicity, and sincerity were at its origin, and the practice of historical painting led to its discovery.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, historical painting (up until then appreciated chiefly for the way in which it idealized its subjects) turned toward realism. Paul Delaroche, who was much admired in his own time, for instance, sought to give his historical paintings a sense of real life. This tendency bordered at times on the ridiculous; noble and illustrious protagonists of Italian history were often portrayed with expressions and attitudes which were naively taken from the tradition of genre painting. The result of this attempt to represent real life was often unwittingly comic, and produced a farcical version of historical scenes. However, this very urge to be realistic led the artists to study directly from life the whole of the painting, including all the essential elements of its composition; this in turn prompted the use of a quick sketch or impression, or the so-called *"macchia."*

The *macchia* was not, at this moment, a particular novelty. On the contrary, it was widely used in the artists' studios. The word may seem bizarre at first to non-Italians, yet it is not at all awkward or rare: it has been in use for a very long time. The word *"macchia"* (from the Latin *macula)* literally means a stain or a trace — whose cause can be anything at all — which remains on the surface of an object and which is different in color from that object. For painters since at least the Renaissance, however, the term *"macchiare"* has meant a first application of color done through direct observation. Giorgio Vasari, in discussing Giorgione's pictorial technique, said that Giorgione used to "stand before living and natural things and recreate them as well as he could with colors, and *macchiare* them with both rough and gentle shades of color, according to what he saw in front of his eyes, without doing a drawing first." In regard to Titian, Vasari added that "his first paintings were done with a certain refinement and with incredible diligence, and only after having been studied carefully from close up and from far off; the later paintings [during Titian's final period] instead were done quickly, in broad strokes and with the use of *macchie,* in such a way that they cannot be viewed from close up, yet when seen from a distance they appear to be perfect."[5]

This sixteenth-century way of using the terms *"macchia"* and *"macchiare"* did not change over the course of time. Filippo Baldinucci, for instance, in his 1681 *Vocabolario (Dictionary)* described the *macchia* in the following manner:

> Painters use this term to refer to the quality of certain sketches, and sometimes even certain paintings, which have been done with extraordinary facility and with a wonderful sense of freshness, without much use of pencil or color, and which have been done in such a way that it almost seems as though they were not done by an artist, but instead took shape on their own on the paper or on the canvas. When artists see this, they will generally say: 'What a fine *macchia* that is.'[6]

It is in precisely this sense that mid-nineteenth-century artists used the terms *"macchia"* and *"macchiare"*. Despite the later technical changes in the concept and definition of the terms made by modern theoreticians — who sought to emphasize the original and novel content of the *macchia,* linked (as we shall see) to a specific way of representing light — none of the Macchiaioli would have been able to define the terms any better, at the beginning of their movement, than had Vasari or Baldinucci.

The entirely new meaning that the *macchia* gradually assumed, however, came about as the painters began to realize the full potential of this time-honored technique for their art. One of the particular traits that appealed to the Macchiaioli was the ability of the *macchia* technique to define in a few quick brushstrokes the entire composition of the painting, the distribution of light and shadow, the situation of the figures within the whole of the picture, and the character of the latter as well. The Macchiaioli also found the *macchia* technique congenial for its power to evoke a certain atmosphere and a certain emotional quality, both of which led to reflection on the differences between the *macchia* technique and the officially-approved technique of the Academy. The latter seemed to freeze or even to paralyze, through its insistence on the value of precepts and literary allusions, any attempt by painters to express on canvas the force and immediacy of a present, living experience.

The Macchiaioli proclaimed that only the *macchia* technique was a sure guaranty of the success of any given painting. In fact, they felt that the *macchia* meant everything for a painter. Only through the senses could an artist capture the real, just as the poet could capture it only through intuition. The artist's sensory data — perceptions and tactile sensations — were all that he needed from nature in order to be sure of his work, just as a mounted horseman is sure of his horse only by feeling its presence between his own legs. Any other historical or intellectual elements therefore had to be subordinate to the *macchia* itself. The importance of this creative moment was such, the Macchiaioli felt, that at times it was enough for the painter in and of itself. By the same token, the intended subject of the painting became of relatively little importance in comparison to the moment of application of the *macchia* itself. A genre painting or a landscape painting, if successfully done with the *macchia* technique, would not be considered inferior in any way — in artistic terms — to a highly sophisticated and solemn historical painting.

This new notion of the *macchia* was given its most refined aesthetic formulation by the Macchiaioli only later on, thanks in particular to Adriano Cecioni's encounter with the Neapolitan world. Cecioni, who in 1863 had won a scholarship to work in Naples, and who had always been interested in aesthetic philosophy, became especially close to the circle of Francesco De Sanctis' young students in Naples. These students were familiar with many of the city's artists, such as Vittorio Imbriani, who — not coincidentally — was at that time going back and forth regularly between Florence and Naples.

The brilliant literary historian De Sanctis, like his Neapolitan predecessor, G. B. Vico, holds an important place in the history of European aesthetic theory. De Sanctis, who developed a highly original version of Hegelian aesthetic theory, provided his students with a refined means of reflecting on the nature of art. His thought served as the background for Cecioni's meeting with Imbriani, and as the very foundation of the theory of the *macchia* as well. It is clear that when Signorini referred to the contact between the Piagentina "school" and Cecioni's circle of friends from the Neapolitan art world, he was speaking of this development of the theory of the *macchia.*

The development of this new theory was remarkably documented by Vittorio Imbriani's keen and insightful observations in a series of letters, written two years after Cecioni's return to Florence, concerning the fifth Neapolitan Promotrice (1869):

> What is the *macchia,* in the final analysis? A harmony of tone, i.e., of shadow and light, aimed at capturing a specific feeling in the mind of the painter, and at making the imagination the focus of his artistic productivity. The *macchia* is the *sine qua non* of the painting, its indispensable and essential ingredient, which can sometimes make one forget the painting's other flaws, and which cannot be supplied to the work in any other way. The *macchia* is the pictorial idea, just as the musical idea is a given agreement among sounds which the composer calls a "theme." One expects a certain basic organization of light and shadow at the basis of even the most largescale of paintings, such as Michelangelo's The *Last Judgment.* And this organization of light and shadow, this *macchia,* is what really stirs the spectator, not the expression of the figures or the sterile materiality of the naked subject, as is often supposed to be the case. In music it is not the words of the libretto, but the nature of the melody, which moves its listeners and brings tears to our eyes, or makes us walk a bit faster, or fills us with frenzy, or makes us dance, or soothes our agitated souls. . . .
>
> The portrait of a first distant impression of an object or a scene; the first and characteristic effect that is imprinted in the artist's eye, whether he is actually looking at the object or scene, or whether he is instead using his memory or his imagination to envision it. This is the salient and characteristic element of the work, which derives from the play of light and shadow and which is produced by a particular arrangement of people and things of various colors. When I say 'distant,' I don't mean actual physical distance, but rather a kind of spiritual distance which consists in not yet having absorbed what has been seen in full detail: this can only come from long and attentive study done with loving care. . . . To execute and finish a painting means nothing more than a gradual narrowing of the distance between the artist and the object itself; it means to extricate from one's mind and to fix on the canvas something which was glimpsed in a brief, dazzling instant. If that first fundamental harmonic agreement is missing, though, then the finished work — no matter how large it may be — will never be able to move the spectator or to stir any emotion at all in him. A single naked *macchia,* on the other hand, despite its 'distance' from objects, is fully capable of stirring up such emotions.
>
> How many times have we seen that the preparatory drawings for a painting are, artistically speaking, far superior to the finished work itself? This always occurs if the first attempt at making a work of art is more powerfully revelatory of the artist's nature and his thought than is the finished work itself; its imperfections actually add a degree of efficacy to the first manifestation of a powerful impression, which otherwise tends to exaggerate the nature of that impression. The execution of the

> painting ought subsequently to bring into play that first vigorous act of perception; to wait too long tends only to generate confusion. The *macchia* belongs entirely to the painter: it is his very own way of capturing the beauty that he sees; it is his idea; it is the subjective part of the painting. The actual execution of the painting, on the other hand, is the objective part; it is the subject making itself felt, or forcing itself upon the artist. The true artist — i.e., the one who can boast of having produced a masterpiece *par excellence* — is able to reproduce details with a deceptive precision, without however having even slightly changed or lost the expressive force of the *macchia*.[7]

Imbriani's penetrating remarks show us just how much impetus the intensive work of the Macchiaioli gave to the progress of artistic theory in Italy. These remarks also demonstrate that the most militant critics — such as Imbriani, Francesco Netti, Adriano Cecioni, Telemaco Signorini, and, above all, Diego Martelli — kept pace in Italy with the most advanced and important European criticism of the period. Moreover, Imbriani's letters show us, from the point of view of this essay, just how greatly the authentic meaning of art predominated above all else for the Macchiaioli during their heyday.

Imbriani's letters are an appeal for an artistic balance between intuition and knowledge. For a painter or a sculptor, however, such a balance tends to rely on the sensorial faculties rather than on the emotional and intellectual faculties (which are nevertheless necessary to him). This tendency is clearly seen in the fundamental discovery made by the Macchiaioli, that is to say, in the meaning of light and the phenomenon of luminosity in modern painting. The Macchiaioli applied this discovery to their own work, and made it the center of their artistic explorations.

The modern paintings seen by the Macchiaioli in the Demidoff collection in Florence played a greater role in this discovery than did the news that the three painters — Serafino De Tivoli, Saverio Altamura, and Domenico Morelli — brought back to the Caffè Michelangiolo from the 1855 Paris Exposition about the work of Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Constant Troyon, and Charles-François Daubigny (who inaugurated, as Signorini once said, the use of "the violent *macchia* made of chiaroscuro and nothing else").[8] Above all else, however, the Macchiaioli's discovery was influenced by their encounter with the style of landscape painting, based on summary notation, which was widespread in Southern Italy and which the Macchiaioli began to emulate after Nino Costa's arrival in Florence toward the end of 1859.

Since sometime around the middle of the eighteenth century, all of Southern Italy (and Naples in particular) had witnessed an extraordinary explosion of landscape painting, especially by foreign artists, chiefly the English, French, Germans, Belgians, Dutch, Russians, and Scandinavians. The landscape painting of this period gradually acquired a clearly-defined if somewhat homogeneous nature of its own. The homogeneity of this style of painting derived principally from its having been done outdoors, directly from life, in places washed in sunlight and made highly evocative not only by the enchanting classical beauty of the landscape, but also by the reverberating light effects that were sometimes seen there. From Alexander Cozens to the young Arnold Böcklin, this kind of research continued to refine in the artists their sense of light and their perceptual faculties. In terms of Italian painting, the new landscape style had its center in the so-called Posillipo school during the first half of the nineteenth century (and served as the source of Costa's own style of landscape painting).

What more can possibly be said about the importance that this new landscape painting had for Romantic painting in general? All that need be done here is to state once more its influential role in refining the modern sensibility. The names of Cozens, Pierre Henri de Valenciennes, Christoffer Vilhelm Eckersberg, Johan Christian Dahl, and Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot speak for themselves. They serve today to remind us how profoundly significant for Romanticism was the question of the landscape and its themes of the fleeting meaning of life, the transience of existence, and the intensity of each passing moment. From Goethe's description of *Venerdì delle Ceneri (Ash-Friday)* to Sterne's gay and highly readable prose, this line of reflection stimulated a vast amount of literary output and introduced the melodrama into Italy, where it was to display its ability to represent a high degree of emotional immediacy without leaving too much of an after-effect on the mind of the spectator.

As soon as Costa arrived in Florence, his studio in Via Maggio immediately became the center of attraction for the Macchiaioli, who had sensed the importance of his artistic message. They thronged around such paintings as his *Donne che imbarcano legna a Porto d'Anzio (Women Loading Wood at the Port of Anzio)*, which the Roman painter had finished in 1852, and which he had brought with him from Rome (together with his finest drawings). Soon the painters whom we now call the Macchiaioli began, together with Costa, to paint from nature. Certainly the Macchiaioli eventually came to paint in a style quite different from Costa's own landscape painting. On the other hand, Costa's style also changed under the influence of that new art and new way of life, as the painter grew more and more attuned to the quiet, simple tone so beloved of Tuscan painters.

This was a natural result of the times. Filippo Palizzi, another Neapolitan who soon made the acquaintance of the Macchiaioli, provided a rather modest but nevertheless influential example of artistic simplicity. Palizzi had emerged from the sort of minute and extremely vital realism typical of artists who had come to Naples from the North; his early work was similar to that of Dahl or Rodolphe Toepffer, or to Jacques Laurent Agasse's animal scenes (which was in turn derived from Francesco Londonio, an eighteenth-century Lombard painter). In an indirect manner, Palizzi's art had developed a certain affinity with the work of the Barbizon school; his love of the local landscape and its characteristic features left its mark on the Macchiaioli in their paintings of the countryside and familiar places. In Palizzi's paintings there was no trace of that wave of emotion and evanescent pantheism typical of so many Romantic landscape painters and alien to the Macchiaioli. The Macchiaioli were not interested in the idea, but rather in the motif; they were interested in objects, places, and living persons. They avoided twilight, and instead sought the kind of bright sunlight that makes things stand out clearly.

A number of other factors also contributed to the formation of the new style of the Macchiaioli. It is certain, however, that one of the most fundamental factors was the artists' ardent desire — typical of every new class that moves to the forefront of the historical stage — to rediscover and redefine their own cultural identity. Only from this perspective can we understand the Macchiaioli's warm reception of certain aspects of French culture, in particular, the bohemians and

the literature expressing democratic libertarian beliefs (the sort written by Champfleury, Jules Antoine Castagnary, and Théophile Thoré), which favored the rise of caricature, social satire, and a passionate interest in contemporary reality. The origin of the fervid debates on realism, and on art as a genuine contemporary expression of the society in which it is produced, is to be found here. And this same origin shares as its guiding principle the Macchiaioli's resolute belief in sincerity in art: that is to say, in that desire for a calm and objective adherence to an element that ought to appear almost on its own in art, and which is present in some part of the moral and psychological world of all people.

Every individual artist is unique, inasmuch as he or she is born with a certain natural disposition in a specific time and a specific place, within a context of specific ideas and experiences. If the artist succeeds in cultivating his or her own special background without pretension and in expressing it — and this is the key — with full and absolute sincerity, then artistic originality is assured. Truth, outside of ourselves, is a chimera: one can only *live* the experience of truth.

The apparently anarchic tendencies of the Macchiaioli were derived from their urgent need for truth; they wished to free themselves not only from the excesses and rigor mortis of the Academy, but also from all those artists who had — in the opinion of the Macchiaioli — contributed to the creation of the Academy in the first place, whether it be Michelangelo, Raphael, or Andrea del Sarto. This explains the Macchiaioli's special love for the monuments and the art of the Middle Ages. Although this love was admittedly influenced by the Nazarene school and the Purists, it nonetheless allowed artists such as Borrani, Abbati, and Puccinelli to create enchanting visions of medieval facades, cloisters and interiors.

Thus it is that we arrive at the question of the full expressive value of the *macchia* itself. For the *macchia* was able to catch and define in a painting not only characters, movement, and atmosphere (as in a sketch for an historical painting), but through the use of light it was also able to capture a fleeting moment of a familiar and well-known reality. This was true whether it was the case of a portrait or a landscape or a genre scene — which were the three kinds of painting almost exclusively practiced by the Macchiaioli from this point on. A distant vision — in the subjective sense of the term used by Imbriani — thus became a concrete vision at a distance, as long as the size of the figures in the painting did not "ever exceed fifteen centimeters" and the various parts could be seen "in terms of their mass," rather than in detail. Above all, nature could thus be captured "in one of her infinite moments," and as if "by surprise," "in that extremely brief space of time in which a given effect occurs."[9]

In this new way of thinking about painting, the Macchiaioli were finally able to recognize themselves for what they were. They were for the most part without any background or interest in literature and letters, and had no formal training in what is usually called "culture" (Signorini, Cecioni and Abbati were the only exceptions to this rule). Yet the Macchiaioli intuitively understood that they were a living and integral part of modern culture. This fact was demonstrated first of all by their writings, which were full of slang and the grammatically incorrect use of language, yet were at the same time lively, playful, and sly. More importantly, however, the Macchiaioli showed a sense of belonging to their age through their paintings, which provide us today with a truly unique and vivid image of life in Tuscany at that time.

The Macchiaioli shared the widespread interest of their age in science. To some degree their ideas about science were derived from those of the French realists and naturalists, whose works were familiar to the Macchiaioli. The theory of the *macchia* — articulated in particular by Signorini, Cecioni, and Martelli — was tinged with positivistic, almost scientific, overtones. The Macchiaioli's theory of tone, value, and relation was chiefly a product of intuition and instinct, yet because it was so rigorously formulated it assumed the illusory appearance of a scientific principle. "The real," wrote Cecioni:

> . . .appears on the canvas as the result of using *macchie* of color and chiaroscuro, each of which has its own value that can be measured by means of relation. In every *macchia* this relation has a double value as both chiaroscuro and color. When one says that the tone is correct in terms of color but not in terms of value, this means that it is too light or too dark in relation to the other tones. For example, yellow has — in the scale of colors — a higher value than white does; but in terms of chiaroscuro, the value of yellow may be less than that of white, if for instance the white is in the shade and serves as a background for the yellow, which is instead in the light. The colors themselves never change; light itself has the power to alter color by making it lighter or darker, brighter or duller; red will always remain red, dark blue will always remain dark blue, and so on; this is because shadow never functions in the painting as would a cloth, but rather as would a veil. . . . The fact is that the *macchia* is not simply a rough preparatory stage of the painting, but rather a science; as such, it has led a revolution against all methods of painting invented before it and after it. . . .[10]

The Macchiaioli attributed a great deal of aesthetic importance to this optical and pseudo-scientific theory of the *macchia*. Indeed, artists almost always tend to consider technical problems to be of primary importance in their art (especially if the artists are not particularly well versed, as they rarely are, in aesthetic philosophy itself). This was precisely what happened a few years later to the Impressionists, even though their historical context differed radically from that of the Macchiaioli. Yet for both the Impressionists and the Macchiaioli the theory of light and its function in painting was an important aspect of their respective poetics. The pictorial poetics of the Macchiaioli is worth examining today chiefly for what it can tell us about their art. It is also suggestive for the taste that it gives us of the culture of the period, centered as it was around the ideology of positivism. Yet the poetics of the *macchia* also sought a central unifying principle which would bring together and blend traditional cultural elements with completely new sensations, emotions, and experiences.

This is what the *macchia* meant for the Macchiaioli during the years of the *La Rotonda di Palmieri (The Rotunda of the Palmieri)* or the Castiglioncello "school;" it was a vision combining the smooth and delicate texture of Purism (which had so accurately expressed the moderate degree of enlightenment in Tuscan culture around the middle of the nineteenth century) with the vibrancy and vitality of a new and hopeful generation. This vision, through simple and yet studied relations of tone and value, was able to articulate volume and distance, and to adjust them both in the brilliant light so clearly inlaid on the canvas. Thus the Macchiaioli were able to transform and give new meaning to the kind of "shorthand" approach to landscape painting which had been developed by painters of various nationali-

ties in southern Italy. Then too, during its prime, the Piagentina "school" placed a melancholy and dream-like accent on the new style of genre painting; these new genre paintings were devoid of psychological concerns and allusions, unlike those done in Dusseldorf, Munich, Vienna, or the Lombardo-Veneto. The figures in the new genre paintings stood out in a manner evocative of fifteenth-century painting, and seemed to represent a middle-class world "quite different from the beastly official world." Emilio Cecchi continued, "It was a closed and humble society, but one full of patriotic fervor, rich in intimacy, and capable of loyalty and suffering. It was also more aware of the respect it owed to great artists than most people would now believe."[11]

The Macchiaioli, although politically committed to the cause of Garibaldi, expressed their true poetic — rather than political — nature in their paintings. For they were, above all, poets; their language could therefore be understood only by a select few (which is always the case with poetry). This was particularly true in the modern period, where industrialization and the division of labor led to a total divorce between artists and their public.

The Macchiaioli were made painfully aware of this fissure in the culture of their time almost as soon as the public began (around 1860) to encounter their works, which had formulated such a new and original language of painting. The economic and political turmoil which led to the Second War of Independence brought Bettino Ricasoli to power in Tuscany. Ricasoli gathered around him all the intellectual factions that had participated in the revolution. He announced a national competition open to all Italian artists, calling for them to exhibit paintings and sculptures inspired by the great moments of national history and by the most important battles of the Risorgimento. Ricasoli's initiative was a novel one in Italy, although it was inspired by analogous competitions that had been held in France. The Italian competition took place in a climate of national solidarity and harmony quite different from the aloof and formal atmosphere of the competition sponsored by Napoleon III a few years earlier, which had been intended solely to publicize the French government's interest in the arts. The Ricasoli initiative, like the 1861 National Exposition (which was much wider in scope), actually failed in its attempt to unify Italian artists, however, and instead alienated the most gifted artists from the center of political power.

The 1859 competition and the 1861 National Exposition afforded an overall view of the state of the arts in Italy, and allowed artists to compare their own work with that of other artists. However, the two events were most significant, in that delicate period of the Macchiaioli's development, as evidence of a widening gap in sensibility and taste between the Macchiaioli and other Italian painters.

At first, this gap was not particularly apparent. Giovanni Fattori, Silvestro Lega, and probably also Telemaco Signorini, Odoardo Borrani, and Ferdinando Buonamici entered the competition. Fattori and Lega even received awards for their work. Works by almost all of the Macchiaioli were exhibited at the 1861 Exposition: they were not ostracized as Courbet's and Manet's works had been in France. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that a number of other Italian artists had backgrounds quite similar to those of the Macchiaioli and shared their tastes to a greater or a lesser degree. Indeed, these factors played an important role in the affirmation of a kind of common pictorial language. Fattori's *Il campo italiano durante la battaglia di Magenta (The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta)* (cat. no. 19) was not substantially different, in stylistic terms, from other battle scenes painted by artists such as Emilio Lapi, Luigi Ademollo, Alessandro Lanfredini, Niccolò Sanesi, Luigi Bechi, Giacomo Conti, or Arturo Moradei. The language employed by Fattori in the painting, with its Purist framework, the attention paid to light, and the use of lighter colors, points to the growing influence both of a new notion of art and of new ideas.

However, almost immediately afterwards, the Macchiaioli felt compelled to give up all official sponsorship of their work, in order not to sacrifice their artistic freedom of expression. Fattori won the competition with his *Il campo italiano durante la battaglia di Magenta* and received support from a group of friends from Leghorn — members of the wealthy and democratic bourgeoisie — for his paintings *Montebello* and *L'assalto alla Madonna della Scoperta (The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta)* (cat. no. 24). However, the latter paintings received practically no official recognition. An award was given to him for *The Assault,* but it was nonetheless a moment of deep humiliation for the painter, because the painting had been mistakenly entered into the competition as a genre scene rather than as an historical painting (where it belonged). From 1862 on, Signorini refused to paint military scenes in order not to run the risk of being judged on the basis of the subject's intrinsic interest, rather than on his own artistic merits.

It was in this same period that the Macchiaioli became objects of scorn and derision for a columnist of the *Gazzetta del Popolo,* who called them *"macchiajuoli."* This term, with its malicious and typically Tuscan double meaning, needs to be briefly discussed here. The word *"macchia,"* in Italian, indicates — among other things — a thick, thorny, and isolated patch of woods, ideal as a hiding-place for criminals and wild animals. *Fare alla macchia, stampare alla macchia* ("to counterfeit"), or *battere moneta alla macchia* ("to counterfeit money") are all expressions denoting illegal and/or illicit activities; the term *"macchiajuolo"* is thus a way of referring to anyone who "does something in the woods," i.e., illegally and in secret. It is therefore not surprising that *macchiajuolo* is a common Tuscan word for a cut-throat capable of any conceivable misdeed.

The anonymous columnist played on this double sense of the word *macchia,* a word which the Macchiaioli themselves had proudly used to define their landscapes shown at the 1862 Promotrice. The irony of the pun was increased by the other connotations of the word. Children have *macchie d'inchiostro* ("ink spots") on their school copybooks, as well as graffitti and grease spots. This was how the public perceived the studies done by the Macchiaioli, which thus exposed them to further ridicule. Signorini, aware of the uses to which paradox can be put in a debate about art, immediately responded to the challenge, and made the word *macchia* a title of artistic honor; later it was adopted as a nickname by all of the members of the group.

This and no other was the origin of the name, which has nothing to do — as some have mistakenly thought — with the title of a famous painting by Fattori, *Le Macchiaiole.* The word *"macchiaiole"* refers, in colloquial language, to poor peasant women who went around the *macchia,* i.e., the woods, gathering brushwood and grass or

other food for farm animals. Nor is there any connection, as André Chastel seems to suggest, between *macchiajuoli* and "outlaws," "bandits," or "rebels" in the romantic sense of the word (that is to say, as "revolutionaries"). It is true, however, that Garibaldi and his men at times found themselves *alla macchia,* as "bandits/revolutionaries in the woods," and a hint of this particular allusion may perhaps be contained in the word.

Those were days of deep unrest. During the 1861 National Exposition there had been a preview of this coming unrest when a group of award-winning painters, including Abbati and D'Ancona, expressed their "solemn" and "extremely vigorous protest" — to cite Signorini — against the officially imposed orthodoxy of most of the work in the show. All these painters had in fact refused to accept the awards conferred upon them, denouncing in an official declaration "the incompetence of the jury, which cannot distinguish true art from false art."[12]

The problem of the jury greatly infuriated the artists. They decided to abandon the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti, founded in Florence in 1841 and by then the chief representative of an antiquated, conservative taste in art, and founded a new association within the Fratellanza Artigiana (a humanitarian, socialist organization founded by Giuseppe Dolfi, the Tuscan baker who was one of Garibaldi's most devoted followers) in the hopes of finding a more understanding, better, and more "popular" public; the results were, however, disappointing.

The most thoughtful of the artists clearly realized that even the most democratic jury appointed by majority vote would be nothing other than a "mystification" or a "foolish imitation of universal suffrage." These are Abbati's own words; he went on to add that "the majority is always wrong, because it is blind, illiterate, and superstitious. . . . Out of one hundred artists, how many have much common sense or learning? If the public is ignorant, and does not appreciate the new aesthetics that the social context and the eternal law of mutability have imposed upon the artists, who is at fault, if not those who still do not know how to objectify their feelings and instead produce only *hopes* and *promises?*"[13]

Particularly meaningful from this perspective were Cecioni's remarks, written shortly before his death in 1884, found in an article devoted to Nino Costa. In this article Cecioni discussed frankly and openly the question of the aristocratic (rather than popular) character of artistic research. Giuseppe Verdi, a "popular" artist if ever there was one, substantially agreed with Cecioni when he took up this question in his letters, although in them he employed a terminology different from Cecioni's. "It is useless," Cecioni wrote, "to delude oneself: ninety-five out of one hundred people will always vote for mediocrity, and what is of truly high quality will be at most tolerated by the majority, but never truly loved by it. Nor is there anything wrong with this, if one considers the fact that whenever an artist or a writer becomes universally well liked, he is liked only for his worst works." Cecioni insisted, moreover, that "common intelligence can only get to a certain point, beyond which it sees and understands nothing."

According to Cecioni, exhibitions were pointless, and even damaging, for the artist:

> I am of the opinion that exhibitions do not make the artist. Rather, they destroy him . . . when one finally realizes what art is and what the public is like, what interest can one have in showing one's work, except for the purpose of selling it? If selling is the artist's chief concern, must he then yield to the demands of the marketplace and the public? And, if he is not motivated by financial concerns, what point is there in showing his work at all, except to demonstrate his dislike of the public? This is also a possible motive, one among the many vanities of humankind. Should one perhaps exhibit one's own work for the pleasure of receiving praise? But neither praise nor blame can have any effect on the artist who holds the public in the lowest possible regard. Should one perhaps exhibit one's work in order to test the reaction of the public? This can be done at the beginning of one's career; but once an artist has discovered that he belongs not to the called, but rather to the chosen . . . then there is no longer any reason to show his work at all.[14]

Once again, then, the uncompromising attitude of the Macchiaioli as artists placed them at a distance from the dominant orthodoxy of their day. Their work (particularly that of Fattori) and their ideas, which were articulated chiefly by Signorini, Cecioni, and above all, Martelli, became the basis for a new aesthetics developed in the first years of the twentieth century by a group of artists associated with the journal *La voce.* The interests of the *La voce* group centered around the notion of "pure painting." This notion had been developed in part because of the respective influences of the great French painters of the second half of the nineteenth century, Benedetto Croce's aesthetic theory (by that time becoming a dominant force in Italian culture), and the theory of "pure visibility." In particular, the writings of Ardengo Soffici, Emilio Cecchi, and Matteo Marangoni, revealed the true poetic achievement of the Macchiaioli, even though these critics were oblivious to the actual content of the paintings, and tended to overlook their historical significance.

It was in this context that the much-cited parallel between the Impressionists and the Macchiaioli was first hypothesized. Such a comparison, however, was drawn with such imprecision and such confusion that it inevitably ended up being detrimental for many decades to any accurate appreciation of the Macchiaioli's work.

The reader who has followed the arguments laid forth in this essay up to this point is now in a position to be able to make an informed judgment about the work of the Macchiaioli. Let me now add a few more useful items of information. The luminous *macchia* of the Macchiaioli was developed, as I have already said, between 1857 and 1862: this is also the "prehistoric" period of French Impressionism. During those years, Eugène Boudin and Johann Barthold Jongkind developed their technique of painting *en plein air* (i.e., outdoors); Boudin and Claude Monet met for the first time, and Manet began to search for a new style. The work of the Tuscan artists, however, developed completely independently of this embryonic phase of French Impressionism, even though their sources were often the same. These sources included the Barbizon school (and above all that "shorthand" style in landscape painting that so greatly influenced the young Corot) and some English as well as Dutch painting which — like the work of the Barbizon painters — the Macchiaioli had become acquainted with in Florence, thanks chiefly to the Demidoff collection. However, the French and the Italian artists utilized these sources in widely different ways. A number of the Macchiaioli — such as Banti, De Tivoli, D'Ancona, Fattori, Lega, and Cabianca — were born between 1824 and 1827; this made them a generation older than most

of the Impressionists; Borrani was born in 1833, Signorini in 1835, Abbati and Cecioni in 1836, and Sernesi in 1838.

When Banti, Signorini, and Cabianca first went to Paris in 1861 (where they joined up with Costa), their interest was focused primarily on Decamps, Corot, and the painters of the Barbizon school. Troyon, Rosa Bonheur, and Daubigny were particularly important representatives of the Barbizon school for the Macchiaioli; Daubigny was both Costa's and Signorini's favorite painter from the Barbizon group. The Macchiaioli were almost completely unaware of other developments in the art world at that time. Even Martelli, who was extremely observant, openly admitted later on that during his first visit to Paris in 1862 he heard nothing at all about Manet.

Fattori went to Paris only in 1875, together with Niccolò Cannicci and Francesco Gioli, when he had already reached full artistic maturity. Signorini, Banti, and D'Ancona all had a certain amount of contact with the Parisian art world, but it was rather inconsequential in nature. Only three painters — none of whom was a Tuscan, and all of whom had only temporary links with the Macchiaioli — became authentic members of the Parisian art world; they were Giuseppe De Nittis, Giovanni Boldini, and Federico Zandomeneghi.

Around 1880, after a number of Impressionist works had been exhibited in Florence, and after Martelli had publicized the new French school with his reports from Paris and with his 1879 lecture, the influence of Impressionism began to be felt in Tuscany as well. However, even though Martelli remarked that Lega's late work was similar to "the serene but gay work of the French Impressionists," Lega's pictorial language remained substantially indifferent to the vocabulary developed by the Impressionists.[15] To Martelli's great disappointment, Fattori did not in the least appreciate the works by Pissarro that Martelli had brought back to Florence from Paris. Furthermore, in 1891 Fattori reacted negatively when a group of his own students started to paint in the manner of Monet and Cézanne.

Apart from purely biographical data, which may well be of only limited importance, what can truly clarify the profound differences between the Impressionists and the Macchiaioli is an objective analysis of the language used by each group of painters, especially in relation to one problem that they held in common: the treatment of light.

At the very basis of Impressionist painting were found a number of different elements: the corporeal, vibrant quality of light itself, the very idea of its movement, and the use of pure and separate colors. Almost none of these elements were present in the work of the Macchiaioli, especially not in their treatment of light. The Macchiaioli's theory of "tone," "value," and "relation" was intended to focus the artist's concentration on a fleeting moment in nature, and was fundamentally based on the primordial desire to grasp what — in spite of all appearances to the contrary — is immutable. Such a desire was nourished by the constant presence of the landscape and the elementary, archaic world of peasant life. Even when they took the woods, meadows, rivers, or fields as their subject for a painting, the Impressionists, on the other hand, drew their inspiration from the restless energy of big cities, from the exciting dynamism of industrial production, and from the stimulating and yet turbulent forces introduced into French life by the chaotic development of modern capitalism.

These two different aesthetics thus reflect two deeply different historical realities. One reality was generated by the rapid growth of modern industrial capitalism, with all its cultural, ethical, and psychological ramifications. The other reality — that of the Macchiaioli — expressed instead the pain and sorrow of a way of life founded on agriculture whose very existence was seriously threatened by the development of an industrial civilization and a capitalist economy.

A list of the great discoveries made by the Impressionists, which led to the radical revision of the very meaning of vision and of all its elements, would include: their sense of the dynamic unity of the real; a new sense of space no longer definable in terms of Euclidean geometry (for the Impressionists, space was a dimension that man perceived as if he were flying through it); the use of light as an element unifying individual experience and the structure of the universe as known to modern man; and the use of color and pigment to render the perpetual motion of a form of light which is essentially energy. Such discoveries make Impressionism one of the truly revolutionary moments in the history of Western culture, and an indispensable point of reference for all the art that followed.

The case of the Macchiaioli is a far different one. In the midst of the luxuriant vegetation of Impressionism, which was nourished by all that was vital in the great culture of the past century, the Macchiaioli appear to us today as mere wildflowers, blooming among the imposing ruins of a lost civilization, and yet still capable of surprising, impressing, and delighting the viewer with the vivid beauty of their colors. There is nothing demeaning or disparaging in this. I would venture to suggest in fact that in an era such as ours, which has been so greatly devastated by the most recent phase of development of industrial civilization, the Macchiaioli may give us cause — in the United States too, I hope — for careful thought and reflection, as well as for aesthetic admiration.

*NOTES*

1. Dario Durbé, *I Macchiaioli, maîtres de la peinture en Toscane au XIXème siècle* (Paris, 1978), 5-7.
2. For art as an expression of society, see Benedetto Croce, *Problemi di estetica e contributi all'estetica italiana,* 3rd ed. (Bari, 1940), 56ff., from which these quotations are taken.
3. Giuseppe De Sanctis, quoted in Benedetto Croce, *Poesia e non poesia,* 7th ed. (Bari: La Terza, 1923), 101.
4. Telemaco Signorini, "Il Caffè Michelangiolo," in *Il Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno di Diego Martelli,* ed. Alberto Maria Fortuna (Florence: L. Gonelli, 1968), 206.
5. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti,* with annotations and comments by Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), 7:427, 452.
6. See entry *"Macchia"* in Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (Florence, 1681).
7. Vittorio Imbriani, *Critica d'arte e prose narrative* (Bari, 1937), 45ff. See also Croce, "Una teoria della macchia," in *Problemi d'estetica,* 241ff.
8. Signorini, 206.
9. Adriano Cecioni, *Scritti e ricordi* (Florence: Tipografia Domenicana, 1905), 302-303.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Emilio Cecchi, "Silvestro Lega," in *Il Secolo XX* (8 Oct. 1926).
12. Signorini, 207.
13. See *Lettere dei Macchiaioli,* ed. Lamberto Vitali (Turin: Einaudi, 1953), 212-213.
14. Cecioni, 321ff.
15. Diego Martelli, in *La Commedia umana* (25 Oct. 1885), reprinted in Dario Durbé, *Silvestro Lega* (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1973), 1xxix.

# TUSCANY AND THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO

*by Denis Mack Smith*

Movements in literature and the arts are bound to reflect aspects of contemporary society, and the Macchiaioli could hardly have avoided some degree of involvement in the political "Risorgimento" of Italy during the mid-nineteenth century. The word "risorgimento," meaning much the same as "renaissance" or "resurrection," was adopted by those Italians who hoped that their country might overcome its internal political divisions and regain a place in the vanguard of Western civilization. Italy under the Roman Caesars had been a formidable initiating force in world history, as it was later under the great Popes of the Middle Ages. During the cultural renaissance that straddled the fifteenth century it was the object of universal admiration. Then came a long gap during which, pillaged by foreign conquerors and torn by internal wars between one region and another, Italy appeared to most visitors as little more than a museum of past glories. But by the 1840s, among a few intellectuals, there were signs of a common national consciousness emerging out of an acute sense of inferiority in comparison with the apparently more progressive nations of northern Europe. Voices were heard calling for a moral regeneration to create a feeling of pride in *italianità* and to reinsert this divided country into the main current of European culture. Some people were even considering whether they could free the various component states of Italy from the intrusive and oppressive influence of Austrian imperialism, while a handful of politically conscious activists began to talk of not merely excluding Austria but of aggregating the whole peninsula under a single united or federated national government.

The eventual unification of Italy was one of the great success stories of modern times. The names of its leaders are well known, and so is the bare outline of what happened. Giuseppe Mazzini was the prophet and theorist who, beginning in the early 1830s, spent many years exiled in England preaching to those who would listen that a united Italian nation was an historical necessity. In 1848, the great year of European revolutions, the old absolutist regimes throughout the Italian peninsula began to crumble when some regional rulers, notably in Piedmont, Naples, and Tuscany, were forced by popular demand to introduce tentative experiments in constitutional and representative government. In the same year, Piedmont led some Italian states in fighting a minor and ineffective war against Austria. The next year, another even more unsuccessful war against the same enemy lasted less than a week, though Mazzini and the guerrilla leader Giuseppe Garibaldi continued an heroic resistance for a few months longer at the head of an independent republican government in Rome. The year 1849 ended in tragic disappointment for these patriots when the Austrians regained their preponderant position and restored absolutist rule in one region after another. Only the Piedmontese retained their liberal constitution, and they showed no tolerance towards Mazzini and Garibaldi who were again forced into exile.

One lesson learned from this failure was that Italians lacked the cohesion, the military strength, and even the will and mutual tolerance that would have been required to win national independence on their own. Success became possible only when the prime minister of Piedmont, Count Camille de Cavour, encouraged the French Emperor Napoleon III to embark on a trial of strength with Austria, and in 1859 a Franco-Piedmontese army launched a third war of independence that succeeded in conquering Lombardy from its Austrian rulers. This war triggered off minor revolutions in the small states of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Papal Romagna, as a result of which these central provinces evicted their rulers and joined the enlarged kingdom of Piedmont and Lombardy. In 1860, Garibaldi assembled an irregular army of volunteers to conquer Sicily and Naples, both of which regions then voted by plebiscite to join Cavour's emerging nation. The Austrian-governed region of Venice had to wait until 1866 when it was annexed to Italy after a fourth war against the Austrian empire. And finally in 1870, after a number of attempts had been made to persuade the Pope to surrender his temporal power in peace, an Italian army forced an entry into the holy city of Rome which then became the capital of the unified country. Something that thirty years earlier had seemed the impossible utopia of a few impractical visionaries had become a fact of history.

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The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the main home of the Macchiaioli, played a significant if subordinate role in this process of nation-making. Piedmont was by far the more important region by reason of possessing a larger army and a political genius in the person of Cavour. Tuscany was only half as large and contained fewer than two million inhabitants. During the previous hundred years, the Tuscan ruling dynasty had been the House of Lorraine, which was closely related to the Hapsburgs of Austria. The last ruler of this line, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Leopoldo, was a kindly, somewhat pathetic figure who until his deposition in 1859 managed to retain the loyalty of the political élite in his small state. Some of his subjects even hoped at one time that he would cooperate in the movement for Italian liberation. But although his forbears had given Tuscany the most equitable and enlightened system of laws anywhere in Italy, he himself shared none of the liberal and patriotic sentiments of some of the younger generation and instead chose to base his power on the threat or actuality of Austrian military support.

His capital city was Florence, a small provincial community with about one hundred thousand citizens still immured in its medieval walls. Over the centuries this town had successively imposed its authority over other neighboring city states, including Pisa, Siena, Leghorn, and (as late as 1847) Lucca. The composite state of Tuscany, which had been created through this protracted process of assimilation, was fairly well-defined geographically, being bordered on three sides by the Apennine mountains and on the fourth by the sea. This was the only area in Italy where Italian was generally used as a spoken language, a fact that helped to convince its inhabitants that they were more genuinely "Italian" than anyone living in other regions where local dialects were distinct languages of their own. A report in January 1860 by the resident English minister[1] explained that "Tuscans are proud of their history and civilization, which they consider superior to that of any other part of Italy," and that they looked on Piedmontese and Romans "as their inferiors in intelligence and intellectual culture." Their artistic inheritance from the Renaissance and the relatively mild government of the Grand Dukes attracted to Florence many foreigners and political exiles from elsewhere in Italy, and this cosmopolitan character provided a stimulating environment in which literature and painting could flourish.

Some of the younger artists were caught up in political action during the revolutionary years 1848-49, and their revolt against the academic style of their elders contributed to ensuring that they would usually be on the progressive side of politics. Silvestro Lega, Luigi Mussini, and Serafino de Tivoli volunteered to fight in northern Italy against the Austrians, where a group of Tuscan students was present at two celebrated but minor engagements in the villages of Curtatone and Montanara. Later, De Tivoli and Nino Costa helped Garibaldi in his desperate defense of the Roman republic, while the young Giovanni Fattori acted as a courier for the revolutionaries and was present at the bombardment of Leghorn by an invading Austrian army.

On the other side of the barricades were most of the senior citizens of Florence, including some political liberals as well as reactionaries, who supported the grand-ducal government against any threat of revolution and who were additionally affronted when the more radical politicians of Leghorn made as if to challenge the leadership of Florence in Tuscany. The leader of the liberal minority among the Florentine aristocracy was Baron Bettino Ricasoli, who was sufficiently afraid of republicanism and social revolution to beg Leopoldo in 1849 to reimpose his authority and put down any attempt at popular insurrection. Ricasoli's younger brother was said to have agreed when the celebrated composer Rossini praised the bombardment of Leghorn and welcomed the brutalities of the Austrian police against what he called the *canaille* ("riff-raff").[2]

Such divisions inside Italian society were a fundamental obstacle in the way of the patriotic movement. The chief division was that between the small class of patriots and the vast majority of the population, who in each region either remained indifferent or else supported the existing regimes. Though the fact was subsequently forgotten or suppressed, many Italians continued to oppose the patriotic cause and some even took arms against "Piedmontese aggression" in 1848-49 and 1859. Furthermore, even among the small minority of liberals and patriots there were profound divisions between conservatives and radicals, monarchists and republicans, clericals and anti-clericals, federalists and those who wanted a single centralized Italian government. The conservative Cavour feared the republican Mazzini quite as much as he feared and disliked the Austrians, and in return was heartily disliked and mistrusted by Mazzini, Garibaldi, and their more adventurous supporters.

Cutting across these various political differences was a social cleavage that made a patriot such as Ricasoli feel closer to the authoritarian Grand Duke than to Francesco Guerrazzi and the radical democrats of Leghorn. Ricasoli shared with other landowners and townsmen a fear that peasants in the countryside would use any political revolution as a cover for occupying the land and seeking less onerous contracts of labor; and understandably, such fears had a paralyzing effect on political action. In addition to social divisions there were purely territorial rivalries, and we can be fairly sure that the great majority of Tuscans put local loyalty to their own town or region before any sense of loyalty to a larger Italy. Many citizens of Siena and Pisa still resented the fact of having lost their civic autonomy to a centralizing administration in Florence, and paradoxically this meant that they were sometimes quicker than Florentines to accept submission to remote Piedmont as a desirable alternative.

Baron Ricasoli later played a leading part in taking Tuscany into the Italian union, but the military failure and political dissensions of 1848-49 left him momentarily disillusioned and he abandoned the country to live for several years in Switzerland. The pessimistic letters he wrote during this period indicate that he had lost confidence in his fellow countrymen. Italians in general, he remarked, were hopeless and incapable of redeeming themselves, while Tuscans, despite their cultural pre-eminence, were politically the most inept of all.[3] He was one of the few who continued to hope that one day Italy would be unified, and was ahead of his other Florentine friends in thinking that salvation might possibly have to come from Piedmont. Idealist motives were here reinforced by more material considerations. When he realized that the Austrian military occupation of Tuscany after 1849 was widely disliked, he became afraid that this might lead to a popular insurrection, in which case he was prepared to invoke the help of Piedmontese troops against lower-class unrest.

Although the Austrians were disliked, there was in fact little sign of revolutionary fervor or open opposition to Leopoldo's government. Yet we do know that the young artists and students of Florence discussed current events in the famous Caffè Michelangiolo. This wineshop was the center of Bohemian life in the city during the 1850s and early 1860s. Much frequented by the Macchiaioli, it was a place where new artistic fashions were launched. One of its founding patrons was Giuseppe Dolfi,[4] who was a republican of Mazzini's persuasion and a local leader of what came to be called the "Democratic Party." Dolfi's enormous popularity among the common people marks him out as one of the more interesting (if less well-known) characters in the whole Risorgimento. By profession a master baker, by personality a born leader, he was a completely self-taught man who possessed considerable intelligence and culture as well as charm and integrity. He was both feared and respected by the rich burghers of the town, who would never have ventured into the Caffè Michelangiolo yet sometimes needed his help because of his great influence in the town. Dolfi's enthusiasm for creating a united Italy was another fact that made him an exceptional person. He was also unusual for his times in being, like Mazzini and Garibaldi, a naturally religious man who was not a practicing Catholic. Equally unusual, and very important for the eventual success of the Tuscan revolution, he was someone who by force of character wielded great authority but was without personal ambition for power or worldly honors.

Such democrats were greatly distrusted by Count Cavour, who indeed distrusted Tuscans in general for being politically too timid, and who used to refer disparagingly to the unreliable and unmilitary "Etruscan race." On several occasions in the years 1856-58, Cavour secretly sent word from the Piedmontese capital, Turin, to encourage some minor agitation in Florence, because he was hoping to create the illusion in the rest of Europe that he spoke for a widespread liberation movement throughout the peninsula; but these requests for agitation had little practical effect. Cavour's long-term aim was to create an independent Italy in which Piedmontese influence would displace that of Austria. He thought that Mazzini's alternative plan for a completely united Italian republic was politically impracticable, and he was rather hoping that the various kingdoms and duchies of Italy could be regrouped into three bigger but still independent states. The first of these, based on Piedmont, would comprise Lombardy, Venice,

and the northern provinces of the Papal States. Southern Italy would remain as a separate sovereign kingdom, probably with a French ruler so as to secure the active support of France against Austria. Central Italy was more of a problem. Cavour was anxious to prevent Florence from becoming a rival to Turin in the leadership of Italy. If Tuscany could be persuaded to join Piedmont in fighting against Austria, he was prepared to leave the Grand Duke on his throne; or else, if Leopoldo failed to agree, the House of Lorraine might be replaced by a new Hohenzollern dynasty from Germany, and this would have the incidental advantage of bringing into Italy "a more vigorous race" from northern Europe.[5]

The group of liberal aristocrats in Ricasoli's circle, who as Cavour admitted were among the most widely admired Italians in the rest of Europe, were not too happy with parts of this program. They were sufficiently "Italian" in spirit to have been outraged had they known about talk of a Hohenzollern ruler. They nevertheless retained a general loyalty to the Grand Duke and hoped that in the end he would agree to join France and Piedmont in fighting against Austria for the cause of Italian liberation. But they did not at all like the advice from Turin to encourage agitation, because the revolution of 1848-49 had taught them how popular restlessness could easily get out of hand and undermine their paramount position in society. They also feared the prospect of being submerged by an aggressive and overbearing Piedmont; and these two fears — of proletarian agitation and of losing Tuscan autonomy — blunted their action and left the way open for Dolfi and a more radical element in Florence to dictate the final moves in the Tuscan revolution that took place on April 27, 1859.

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This day was one of the more decisive moments in the whole Risorgimento because it settled the future of central Italy. Ricasoli and his associates were privately begging Leopoldo to ally himself with Piedmont, or failing that to abdicate in favor of his son Ferdinando who might be less tied to Austria. Dolfi's friends, however, had been hoping that Ricasoli would abandon the dynasty and publicly call for the unification of Italy. When the latter refused, a peaceful but overwhelming popular demonstration took place in the streets of Florence while the Grand Duke's soldiers fraternized with the mob. As a terrified Leopoldo fled into exile, Ricasoli, appalled by the prospect of rioting and social disintegration, himself hurried to Turin to beg for troops who could restore order and control the revolution that Dolfi was organizing. But he had misread the situation. The local correspondent of the London *Times* reported from Florence that Dolfi and the artisan *capipopolo* of each district in the town had the demonstration entirely under control; there were no disorders, no loss of life, just a peaceful and cheerful mass revolution that swept the *ancien régime* away by the sheer force of popular enthusiasm. That done, the popular leaders stood aside and let Ricasoli's group of liberal patriots see if they could form a provisional government of their own.[6]

On April 28th, the Florence municipality, which was the only institution still in existence after Leopoldo's undignified flight, decided to put itself at the head of the revolution and appealed to King Vittorio Emanuele of Piedmont to assume a temporary dictatorial authority in Tuscany until the Austrians had been beaten; but this proposal was vetoed by the French, who were determined to prevent the creation of too large and strong a state in Italy. Nor was there much pleasure among politically conscious Tuscans at the prospect of being simply annexed by Piedmont. Some people were even pleased when not Piedmontese but French troops were the first to arrive and organize the defense of the country against a possible Austrian attack. The large French military encampment just outside the walls of Florence was a colorful novelty for the citizens and became the subject of a number of pictures by Fattori and others.

The month of May saw the various patriotic groups continually at cross purposes with each other. Cavour was afraid that the dispatch of these French troops signified a secret plot to bring Tuscany inside the French empire, and he reacted by sending unofficial trusted agents who worked behind Ricasoli's back to win more local support for immediate annexation by Piedmont. Once again, when this evidence of "Piedmontese aggrandizement" was discovered, the French forced Cavour to back down by pointing out that he was not only creating unfortunate differences inside their joint alliance but was antagonizing those Tuscans who were determined to retain at least some degree of regional autonomy. The government in Turin was far more justified in its extreme irritation that so little military help was forthcoming from Florence, because only a few hundred Tuscan volunteers arrived to fight against Austria alongside the regular Piedmontese army. Ricasoli did not dare to introduce compulsory military service because he know that such a war would be unpopular outside a restricted circle of urban patriots. In any case rich people would insist on their right to buy themselves out of conscription, and this would leave arms in the hands of artisans and the rural peasantry, some of whom might prefer to use their weapons to start either another more radical revolution or a counterrevolution to bring back the former dynasty.

But when on June 4th a great French victory at Magenta made possible the occupation of Milan and Lombardy, enormous enthusiasm was aroused in Florence because it suggested that the war was almost won without the need for further sacrifices. Even those who wanted regional autonomy could see that if an independent kingdom of Italy was in the process of being created, then Tuscany might now be able to join it as a fully equal founding member and not as a subordinate region "annexed" to Piedmont. Ricasoli, this time in close collusion with Dolfi, who the French ambassador now called the most influential person in Florence, organized a vote by individual townships that came out in favor of joining a new Italian nation. Many rich Tuscans, including some of Ricasoli's closest friends, were offended and indeed frightened by this concession to democracy and the consultation of popular wishes, but others were confident that with a judicious use of censorship and unobtrusive police action they could influence the vote in the required direction.

On June 24th the French won another difficult victory at Solferino, while the Piedmontese army nearby was successful in ancillary engagements at Madonna della Scoperta and San Martino. Shortly afterwards Napoleon surprised his Piedmontese ally by signing an armistice with the Austrians at Villafranca. Among his motives for wanting peace was that Italian support for the French war effort had been very much less than Cavour originally promised. Another motive was dissatisfaction at discovering that Cavour, despite what

had been agreed between them, was still planning secretly to annex central Italy to Piedmont. But whereas the French were anxious not to have too large an Italian state on their southeastern frontier, Ricasoli's first reaction was now quite different: a strong Italy, he wrote on hearing the news, was an absolute necessity for a proper equilibrium in Europe, and in his opinion the small state of Tuscany was no longer economically viable on its own. Napoleon's suggestion that Ferdinando of Lorraine be allowed back as grand duke attracted some Tuscans but had no appeal for the new generation of patriots, nor for those who feared that it might spell a renewal of civil war, nor for those many prominent citizens who had compromised themselves over the last two months by taking part in the provisional government at Florence.

For the rest of 1859, Tuscany remained independent under the virtual dictatorship of Ricasoli, though he claimed to be ruling in the name of the Piedmontese monarchy. His policy was to persuade France and the rest of Europe to allow the incorporation of Tuscany into an Italian union. For this purpose he arranged that an assembly be elected on a restricted suffrage in which some 2% of the population voted, and this assembly in August voted almost unanimously to join an Italian nation. Such was his patriotic zeal that he gave a senior military command to the plebian Garibaldi and allowed Mazzini to live unmolested in Florence, something that would have been impossible in Turin.

A number of artists volunteered to join Garibaldi's force in Tuscany, including Odoardo Borrani, Giuseppe Abbati, Raffaello Sernesi, and Telemaco Signorini. Ricasoli offered a prize for a celebratory painting of recent events, and the winner from 43 entries was Fattori, who travelled to Magenta to portray what he could reconstruct of the field of battle. The bitterly fought engagement of Solferino was the subject of another dramatic picture by Signorini. Painters and writers had a well-recognized function as propagandists in helping to inculcate a sense of patriotism, if necessary giving an added rhetorical emphasis to what had happened or even inventing convenient legends. Specially commissioned oil paintings and engravings helped to persuade people of the improbable story that King Vittorio Emanuele, the Piedmontese commander-in-chief, was always in the thick of the fight and personally led the decisive charge at San Martino. Another officially encouraged legend described the bloody battle of Magenta as an Italian victory, although no Italian soldier lost his life except some who fought on the losing Austrian side. A further piece of retrospective propaganda tried to pretend that the effective organizers of the Florentine revolution of April 27, 1859 had been Ricasoli and Cavour rather than Dolfi and the other popular leaders. Some awkward truths were better left unsaid.

Another unfortunate fact that had to be concealed or extenuated was that, as Piedmont and Tuscany moved closer together, Cavour developed an increasing irritation with Ricasoli who from a distance appeared to be far too rigid and moralistic, far too independent in his opinions, and too preoccupied with purely Tuscan interests. Nor was the Piedmontese minister greatly pleased when a request arrived from Florence for an assurance that northern laws and institutions would not be simply imposed by Turin on the rest of Italy without consultation and alteration. Cavour was in fact forced to concede under pressure, whether sincerely or not, that other provinces would be permitted to enjoy an "administrative autonomy" inside the new nation, leaving the central government with control only over diplomatic, military, and financial policy.

This no doubt gratified and helped to disarm many of those in Tuscany who were called upon in March 1860 to express their wishes in a plebiscite. Cavour asked for a straightforward vote in favor of or against "annexation," but Ricasoli was adamant in adopting the less-wounding formula of "union to the constitutional government of Vittorio Emanuele." Like other plebiscites elsewhere, this one was not entirely serious. Not even the provisional government in Florence was quite sure who had a right to vote, nor was the opposition permitted much freedom for its propaganda. In some areas people found difficulty in obtaining any voting papers that allowed a negative vote. To make absolutely sure of a positive result, each landowner was instructed by the government to march his peasants to the polling booths where they were told precisely what to do and to vote publicly.[7] In effect, a quarter of the population exercised its right, and an overwhelming majority of 95% was in favor of union.

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Tuscany thus joined the grouping of northern and central Italian states that was beginning to take shape. Ricasoli remained as governor of a semi-autonomous region for some months longer, despite Cavour's anxiety to get rid of him and bring this residual autonomy to an end. But Ricasoli was by now the second best-known person in the governing class and his position was beyond challenge. The King came to visit Florence in April 1860, but although his arrival was greeted in the streets with enormous enthusiasm, his eccentric behavior did not succeed in endearing him to some of his new subjects. The initiative was now seized by a group of much more revolutionary patriots, and the following month Garibaldi's volunteers began their conquest of Sicily and Naples, once again with some Tuscans among their number. As soon as Garibaldi reached Naples, Cavour ordered the Piedmontese army to invade the papal provinces of Umbria and the Marches, after which further plebiscites in southern and central Italy resulted in almost unanimous votes to join the union. The annexation of these newly conquered regions was then accepted by parliament in Turin, and this allowed Cavour, a few weeks before his tragic death in 1861, to declare formally that a Kingdom of Italy was in existence.

His successor as prime minister could hardly be other than Ricasoli himself, who came to power at a very difficult moment when every kind of problem was awaiting resolution. The new kingdom was committed to spending twice its tax revenue, largely in preparation for making war once again on Austria to obtain Italy's "natural frontier" on the Alps. Meanwhile, to almost everyone's surprise, a major rebellion broke out in the south which seemed to contradict the inmense paper majority in the recent plebiscites. Another difficulty was that a uniform administration and a single scale of measures and coinage had to be imposed quickly and without adequate discussion over the whole country, so eliminating ancient traditions of local autonomy. An even more intractable problem was that two-thirds of the population were still illiterate and hence outside the main current of national life. Unification brought with it a higher cost of living, and inevitably there was opposition from many peasants who were some-

times driven to desperation by higher taxes, higher costs, and compulsory service in the army. Moreover, political opposition came from Mazzini's republicans on the left, as well as from adherents of the former regimes on the right, and from those Catholics who were appalled that Cavour had made war on the Pope and confiscated many revenues owned by the Church. Ricasoli did what he could to confront these problems, but resigned early in 1862 when he discovered that the King was ignoring parliament and pursuing a private domestic and foreign policy of his own.

Once again he became prime minister in 1866, and this was at another critical moment when he alone was thought to possess the requisite authority and reputation to preside over the final "war of liberation" against Austria. But he was appointed only at the last moment when it was too late to make his influence felt over the military and diplomatic preparations, and these happened largely by default. Italians had unfortunately been led to believe that, in alliance with Prussia, the war would be a walk-over and Italy would, without much trouble, secure not only Venice but the Trentino and Trieste, so winning her Alpine frontier and a commanding position in the Adriatic Sea. Ricasoli's predecessor had been so confident that he daringly refused an Austrian offer to cede Venice peaceably, because he sought the prestige of winning a great military victory. But within a week of declaring war the Italian army was defeated at Custoza — the subject of another picture by Fattori. The main reason for this disaster was that King Vittorio Emanuele again insisted on personally deciding military policy and leading the army as commander-in-chief, though as a mere amateur he was quite unfit for this task. A few days later the Italian navy, led by an incompetent admiral who owed his position to favoritism at court, was defeated off the island of Lissa by a smaller but better-commanded fleet.

Fortunately the Prussians won a resounding victory and forced their common enemy to make peace. The Austrian government at Vienna understandably refused to yield Venice to a defeated country, but agreed to surrender it to the neutral French, who then gave it to Italy. This was a solid even if inglorious achievement. It also provided the opportunity for learning a useful lesson, because the excesses of patriotic propaganda had led to a dangerous overconfidence in pushing national policy too far ahead of limited resources and did not take into account the quality of leadership that was available.

Two years earlier Florence had become the seat of central government. The first Italian capital, Turin, was too close to the frontier for safety and convenience, so the chief city of Tuscany took its place in 1864 until Rome could be acquired. Rome and its immediate surroundings were still under papal sovereignty and there was no great eagerness for defying Catholic sentiment by using armed force to annex it. Indeed, perhaps rashly, Cavour and his successors promised to defend the Pope from any outside attack. But while some politicians were hoping not to move the capital from Florence, Ricasoli was not among their number. He watched with some sadness as the medieval walls of this small Tuscan town were pulled down to make room for new governmental buildings and a sudden influx of administrators and members of parliament. Although he himself, unlike Cavour, was a devout Catholic, he still shared with both Mazzini and Cavour a veneration for the secular historical memories attached to Rome. He was therefore strongly opposed to the attempt by the extreme clerical party to retain the temporal sovereignty of the Popes and keep Italy incomplete. In his view the Church might create another schism if it refused to come to terms with the secular and liberal values of contemporary society, whereas by renouncing temporal possessions it would not only earn the gratitude of Italians, but might eventually heal the division in Christendom created by the Protestant Reformation.

No doubt these were extravagant hopes. And equally optimistic was Ricasoli's assumption that one day the inhabitants of Rome would rise in insurrection to deliver themselves, so making union with the rest of Italy more acceptable. In 1862 Garibaldi acted on his own, with secret encouragement from the King, and led another of his red-shirted irregular armies against the Pope — the occasion for Borrani's picture, *Le cucitrici di camicie rosse (The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts)*, where Garibaldi's portrait is clearly seen on the wall — but got no further than Aspromonte in the extreme south. Again he tried to do the same in 1867 and was beaten by a French force at Mentana when only fifteen miles from Rome. There was also a disheartening lack of enthusiasm among the Roman population for these attempts at invasion. Finally in 1870, however, taking advantage of a moment when the rest of Europe was preoccupied with the Franco-Prussian war, the Italian army breached the walls of Rome at the Porta Pia (another fanciful picture by Borrani celebrated the event), and Mazzini's lifelong ambition was accomplished just two years before his death.

Ricasoli welcomed this final achievement, though he joined with Mazzini and Garibaldi in deploring that Rome and Venice had been won by conquest and subterfuge rather than through popular insurrections. Ideally the Risorgimento should have been the clear expression of popular will by ordinary citizens prepared to sacrifice for a noble ideal. Instead, looking back, he was obliged to agree that it had been too much an imposition from above and too much owing to luck, to French and Prussian victories, and to civil wars in which Italians had continued to fight against each other. Something of the same disillusionment with Italian political life can be observed in the later career of Fattori and other painters of his school. They had no doubt been expecting too much. The remarkable successes of the years 1859-61 had been too exciting, and what followed left many people unsure about the capacity of the new nation to fulfill its promise. But after many centuries of division, the political unification of the country was by any reckoning a tremendous achievement. Cavour, Ricasoli, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, despite their disagreements, had each made an essential contribution and together had changed the history of Europe in a way that very few people before 1850 had thought possible.

*NOTES*

1. Edwin Corbett to Lord John Russell, January 19, 1860, Public Record Office, London (FO 79/213).
2. D. Farini, *Diario di Fine Secolo*, ed. E. Morelli (Rome, 1962), 2:1136-7.
3. M. Nobili and S. Camerani, eds., *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli* (Rome, 1945-50), 3:452-3 and 5:321.
4. Olivia Rossetti Agresti, *Giovanni Costa, his Life, Work and Times* (London, 1907), 90-1.
5. Denis Mack Smith, "Cavour and the Tuscan Revolution of 1859," in *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento* (London, 1971), 126-7.
6. Denis Mack Smith, "Radicals and Moderates in Florence, April, 1859," ibid., 116-23.
7. Nobili and Camerani, 12:252-3 and 277-8.

# THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE RISORGIMENTO

*by Albert Boime*

## INTRODUCTION

The history of nineteenth-century Italian art — indeed of any art — can be thought of as a kind of dialogue between nature and society. In this dialogue, artistically gifted people made a series of choices within the limits imposed by nature and social constraint. The art resulting from these decisions yields a glimpse at the way mid-nineteenth-century Italians viewed themselves within their cultural landscape. The Macchiaioli painters, who emerge from the political and cultural background known as the Risorgimento, reveal in their work a rich succession of layers of this landscape and portray the ways Italians of that time tried to shape and meaningfully inhabit their emerging national space. This essay attempts to highlight some of the main patterns of this space delineated by the Macchiaioli painters.

The Macchiaioli (from the various significations of *macchia*: spot, sketch, dense underbrush) represented a new cultural formation which unfolded in Florence just after mid-century and lasted until the late 1860s. The strategy of their dissent took the form of anti-academicism but in fact was aimed at foreign, specifically Austrian, domination of Tuscan institutions. Their grouping attracted individuals from other parts of the Italian peninsula who had fled their various indigenous, subordinated cultures or were otherwise displaced by the ferment of the revolutionary years 1848-49. Despite the autocratic government of Grand Duke Leopoldo II of Lorraine, life was more tolerable in Florence than almost anywhere else in Italy; it was an environment these patriotic-minded artists could exploit. They participated enthusiastically in the huge demonstration of April 27, 1859, which threw the grand duke out of Florence and paved the way for Tuscany to join a united Italy.

It was no accident that they organized themselves in the Tuscan capital. The city's concentration of cultural and commercial institutions, as well as its dominant role in the history of peninsular civilization, provided the conditions for articulating a new national culture. The study of national history was cultivated in Florence not only by eminent scholars such as Giovan Pietro Vieusseux (1779-1863) who founded the publications *Antologia* and *Archivio Storico Italiano,* and Gino Capponi who founded the *Giornale Agrario Toscano,* but also by romantic novelists such as Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (1804-1873) and Massimo D'Azeglio (1798-1866), who scrupulously examined historical sites and documents for their fictionalized accounts of sixteenth-century Republican Florence. The study of Tuscan history as national history yielded a better knowledge of the Italian past (with lessons for the future) and a clearer sense of the relationship between Italy and Europe. This knowledge, coupled with an examination of present reality, revealed the process of decline Italy underwent after the Renaissance. The general goal of the Tuscan Risorgimento was to raise Italy to the level of the rest of European civilization. The Macchiaioli shared this goal and participated in the revivifying of Italian art and culture, using their Renaissance predecessors and European contemporaries as guides. The group began to lose its cohesiveness only after Florence became the official capital of Italy in 1865 — ironically just at the moment when their ideal of Florence as a national and international cultural and political center was starting to be realized.

The Macchiaioli expressed their nationalism and internationalism primarily through the modern aesthetic idiom of landscape. They searched the riverflats along the Arno, the orchards and farms of the suburbs of Florence, the hill pastures around Pistoia, and the wild Maremma region (with its thick *macchie* of scrub pine and underbrush) for motifs appropriate to their fresh viewpoint. Their topographical specificity and personal response were totally integrated in what may be called the *macchia-scape* — the landscape that retained the sincerity of vision they admired in the Tuscan artists of the Quattrocento but that also conveyed the modernity and nationalism of contemporary Italian life.

### THE SHIFT FROM VEDUTA TO *MACCHIA*-SCAPE

The immediate forerunners of the Macchiaioli were the Vedutisti, the Italian view painters of Venice and Naples. They were the first to promote topographical realism with reference to a specific site as an emblem of national or geographical identity. The Venetian view painters of the eighteenth century, for example, depicted a building, a picturesque corner of a city, or a panoramic townscape for the sole purpose of preserving the memorable qualities of Venice for travelers. The *veduta* was in fact the first postcard, albeit an expensive version available only to the privileged tourist, for whom it was a badge of culture and wealth.

The term *veduta,* or view, closely related to the terminology of perspective, derives from the same word meaning the line of sight to a given location, whether of an expanse of countryside, a city, or an individual building. This prospect was an exclusive point of view, such as that afforded from the hill of a feudal estate, accessible only to those who could gain entrance to a court balcony, a window in the Doge's Palace, or the terrace of a wealthy landlord. It also signified the impeccable judgment and taste of the viewer, who could seize on the truly "poetic" or picturesque prospect. Thus view painters were required to render accurate portrayals of the most famous or memorable places, tracing the trajectory of this refined line of sight.

Not coincidentally, English and French aristocratic collectors constituted the principal clientele for the Italian view painter. These views often complemented the topographical portraits of their own estates that English lords commissioned from local landscapists. The landscape or "real estate" portraits by English or foreign painters generally terminated with the stately home on the horizon, akin to the arrangement of the Vedutisti. The young Englishman taking the Grand Tour to round out his education thus greatly stimulated the market and the profession of landscape painting in Italy prior to the Risorgimento.

The English continued to be a major stimulus in the first half of the nineteenth century, contributing to the rise of a landscape group in Naples known as the Posillipo school.[1] Long before the advent of the Barbizon school, Italy had a regional landscape movement based in the Neapolitan countryside. This group included its founder, Antonio Pitloo (1791-1837), and his disciples Gabriele Smargiassi and Giacinto Gigante, all of whom made their living depicting scenic views of the Posillipo resort and its surrounding ports for English and French tourists. They showed squares with markets in progress,

bridges, famous buildings, townscapes, and the beautiful hillside sites of Posillipo itself. Another member of the group, Achille Vianelli, also rendered church interiors within a careful perspective framework.

There is clearly an intimate link between view painting and scenography (including stage design); indeed, the two practices developed in tandem. Scenography, like the *veduta,* was concerned with the representation of space and was dependent upon an accurate perspective scheme. Most view painters could do both types of spatial representation and were encouraged to do so by collectors who wanted trompe l'oeil church interiors to complement their exterior views. The presence of a major scenographic school at the Royal Theater of San Carlo in Naples testifies to the conspicuousness of scenography in that city.

The Neapolitan view tradition entered into the Tuscan center by way of political exiles such as Domenico Morelli (1826-1901), Francesco Saverio Altamura (1826-1897), and Vincenzo Abbati (1803-1860) (Giuseppe's father), who had studied in the San Carlo school. Vincenzo's interiors were popular among French (the Duchess du Berry was his faithful client) and English as well as Neapolitan collectors (fig. 1).

As important as the Posillipo influence was the contribution of Giovanni Signorini, Telemaco's father, a scenographic and view painter attached to the grand ducal court of Tuscany. The court regularly called upon him to record the spectacles, celebrations, and even the disasters of the duchy.[2] In a series of remarkable panoramas executed in the 1840s, he depicted the chariot races in front of Santa Maria Novella, the carnival festival in the Piazza Santa Croce, a night scene in the loggia of the Mercato Nuovo the evening of the festival of Epiphany, the riderless horse races held on the feast day of San Giovanni (the patron saint of Florence) (fig. 2), and the Ponte Carraia during an immense display of fireworks. These *vedute,* all done for the court, give us an insight into the origins of the Macchiaioli style and its singular departure from tradition.

Fig. 1 — Vincenzo Abbati, *Interno della chiesa di San Zanipolo (Interior of the Church of San Zanipolo)*
Fig. 2 — Giovanni Signorini, *La corsa dei cocchi (The Carriage Race)*

All are presented from a high vantage point, as if from a balcony, which allows for a stretching out of the horizon for a panoramic look at the crowds and events. Almost invariably, the spectator is made to feel *outside* the main action, away from the teeming populace, the dust kicked up by the horses' hooves, the fallout from the fireworks. Despite their remarkable topographical accuracy, they reek of the artificial, the scenographic, the stage set. They document the religious and official holidays of the Florentine public, those few moments in which the grand duke deigned to make contact with his subjects. This contact was rigidly ceremonial, with the grand duke surrounded by an entourage which followed him to every site on his itinerary. This formality is brilliantly recorded by Giovanni Signorini from the viewpoint of the regime. His *vedute* also hint at the cause of Leopoldo II's demise, for his contact with Tuscany's people never seemed to get beyond the level of feast day celebrations.

The Macchiaioli painters' debt to the *veduta* tradition is evident in the titles of their early exhibits in the Florentine Promotrici, the annual art exhibitions sponsored by private patronage. The De Tivoli brothers, Serafino and Felice, used the term in labeling landscape studies of the early 1850s such as Serafino's *Veduta dell'Arno dal fondo delle Cascine (View of the Arno from the End of the Cascine)* (1853).[3] As late as 1863, Silvestro Lega used it to designate one of his studies executed in Piagentina. Another point of contact between the old view painters and the Macchiaioli is their mutual interest in the use of optical devices such as the black mirror, a darkened concave glass for simplifying the tones of the subject, and the *camera lucida,* a mirror which reflected the scene onto a transparent drawing surface on which the artist placed tracing paper for reproduction. Eventually, these experiments of the Macchiaioli, inherited from *vedutismo,* would lead them into the rapidly expanding field of photography.

A comparison between the views of the elder Signorini and the *macchie* of his son nevertheless discloses the vast gulf between the two groups of painters. Both fixed on familiar urban sites, but Giovanni Signorini, as indicated, mainly painted special annual events and spectacles. His views are scenic displays tracing the courtly calendar for members of the Tuscan aristocracy. This group always lies outside the main action, while nevertheless accepting the rituals as if performed for them exclusively. The famous sites and *piazze* are experienced by them in this limited framework, for they cannot and will not participate at any other level.

The "generation gap" between father and son is most vividly seen in the series of urban and rural village scenes Telemaco executed. He carries the spectator directly into the noisy, bustling *Mercato Vecchio a Firenze* (c. 1882) and the silent, benumbed square of the

*Piazza a Settignano.* We do not take in these scenes from the perspective of the aristocratic beholder but from that of the shouting street vendors and colliding customers.[4] Instead of organizing the composition around a dominant monument in all its majesty, Signorini emphasizes the seedy, run-down buildings of old Florence. Indeed, in one image, the *Mercato Vecchio,* we barely see the cupola of the Duomo peeking out above the tiled roof at the left (fig. 3). *Piazza a Settignano* (c. 1880s) (fig. 4) sets us directly into the center of the little village about five kilometers west of Florence, and Signorini carefully identifies the site with an advertisement on the side of a trattoria. The view is from below rather than from above the horizon, and the spectator has the sense of cutting across the square toward the trattoria, following behind the striding figure. The mood is governed by the unemployed people and/or shoppers leaning against the fountain in the center of the composition or standing in doorways. Signorini clearly delighted in painting the signs on the buildings, not only to establish the locale but also to declare the modernism of consumer advertising and the vulgarity of the subject.

He extended his repertoire — as well as his distance from his father — with *Leith* (cat no. 157), a landscape done on his journey to Scotland in 1881. Here the scene in the port district at the northern edge of Edinburgh is viewed from below the horizon, and the spectator is made to feel a part of the strolling crowd. We seem to overhear the animated conversation of the group in kilts as we move at a pace set by the young woman pushing the perambulator at the right. The main focus is the huge billboard on the side of the building advertising products from the Kirkgate Provision Store.

Fig. 3 — Telemaco Signorini, *Mercato vecchio a Firenze*
Fig. 4 — Telemaco Signorini, *Piazza a Settignano*

To move from the work of the father to that of the son is to make a drastic social and ideological shift from an aristocratic to a progressive ideal. The Macchiaioli push from the scenic to the participatory, from the privileged to the democratic view, from watching the spectacle to taking part in it. Opposing the exclusivity of the Vedutisti, they declare the sociality of the landscape and the communality of the Risorgimento ideal. Even when they choose an isolated site or image of solitude, they do so for the benefit of the general spectator. The site is no longer the most famous or the most memorable, but a slice of Tuscan countryside presented to permit a more personal response, unmediated by guidebook rhetoric. When they do show well-known monuments, they are seen in drastically cropped or unfamiliar guises, from close up or from bizarre angles. They privatize and personalize even the tourist spectacles for a fresh perspective and an unstereotypical insight. Thus the Macchiaioli amplified the geographical significance of the view painters, projecting it into a patriotic-social context. They extended their vision from a specifically Tuscan world to the larger European culture, celebrating public spaces but restoring the monuments to the people, secularizing and divesting them of their ritualistic, theocratic, and aristocratic significations.

Apart from these characteristics, Signorini's *Leith* reveals Macchiaioli irony and self-parody. The visual jolt of the looming billboard, with its bold capitalized ROB ROY, makes a sly allusion to one of their old heroes, Sir Walter Scott. Set in eighteenth-century Scotland in an area between Glasgow and Argyllshire, *Rob Roy* (1819) was one of Scott's most adventure-filled novels. The eponymous hero is a chief of the Highlanders who collects protection money from London merchants. Called affectionately the Robin Hood of Scotland, he occupied a popular position in the Highlands. The carryover of Scott's romantic tradition to the Risorgimento is shown in the fact that Garibaldi was referred to as the Rob Roy of Italy.

During this same trip to Edinburgh, Signorini also painted the *Monument to Sir Walter Scott,* located south of Leith near Waverly Bridge. Signorini's trip surely had the character of a pilgrimage to Scott's native land. When we recall that both Signorini and Giovanni Fattori drew upon the English writer for their early subjects, the allusion is not without significance. Scott's novels were readily available in Italian and contributed to the imaginative development of the young Macchiaioli.

By 1881 in *Leith,* however, Signorini could see his youthful infatuation with the novelist in a different light. The billboard title ROB ROY refers to a whiskey label, and its fancy plaid lettering clashes with the sign above it advertising Reckitts Blue, a laundry product sold in little bags which gave a "blue-whiteness" to freshly laundered clothes. Rob Roy has now been divested of his literary, heroic, and romantic associations and absorbed into the commercial life of a modern, dynamic urban complex. Signorini's approach here underscores his participation in cultural production for a bourgeois

mercantile elite, rendering the content of their world with a gusto of light and color then associated with high art.

As in his paintings of Italian sites, Signorini's *Leith* carefully marks the locale and its day-to-day life. He painted near the point where Great Junction and Constitution streets meet, as indicated by the Kirkgate Provision Store sign on the storefront below the billboard. The correct spelling of the English words and the precise details of the billboard strongly indicate that he used a photographic source rather than that he painted or sketched the scene on the spot. Signorini's commitment to topographical accuracy, inherited from the Vedutisti tradition, has now been translated into a saleable modern image.

## MACCHIAIOLI: MEANING AND CULTURAL ROLE

The designation of the painters in this exhibition as "Macchiaioli" is a concept inseparable from the evolution of the Risorgimento. I maintain that the group label carried a progressive political signification no less critical to its program than its aesthetic and cultural meanings.

Like the Risorgimento itself, the Macchiaioli idea had both an Italian and a European implication. For all their differences, both Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and Count Camillo di Cavour (1810-1861) of Piedmont wanted to bring Italy up-to-date and to a political, economic, and social level equal with the rest of Europe. Similarly, the Macchiaioli were both nationally and internationally oriented; by asserting Italian individuality they hoped to contribute to a release of energies needed to make Italy a great nation, able to assume a role in the affairs of Europe. This becomes evident in the heated journalistic exchange of 1862 between the painter Telemaco Signorini and the critic Giuseppe Rigutini (who signed themselves "X" and "Luigi," respectively), in which the term Macchiaioli was used for the first time; Rigutini employed it to deride a review by Signorini which praised several of the young painters.[5] Signorini wrote for *La Nuova Europa,* a paper with a republican viewpoint supportive of Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) and Mazzini, while his opponent wrote for the *Gazzetta del Popolo,* a conservative paper supporting Vittorio Emanuele.[6] The *Gazzetta* made disparaging remarks about the politics of *La Nuova Europa,*[7] and in Rigutini's article there are disparaging allusions to Signorini as "un nuovo europeo," one of "i nuovi europei." The idea of a regenerated Italy in a regenerated Europe was in fact part of the original aim of Mazzini's organization, Giovine Italia.

The debate over the degree of finish (or lack of it) in painting such as that being done by the Macchiaioli was going on all over Europe, with the broader brush technique a slap at the academic canvas and an underlying rhetoric consistent with liberal ideas of independence and individuality. There can be no doubt that the Macchiaioli responded enthusiastically to the novel techniques of French painters of the Barbizon school, just as the Risorgimento was influenced by the French Revolution and the two Napoleons. But the Macchiaioli, with their own sketch tradition dating from the Renaissance, went even further in identifying specifically with the technique, that is, with the actual process of making a painting. This is an unprecedented attitude, yet one that remains to be discussed in the literature. Independents like the French painter Edouard Manet, who still saw themselves as working within the tradition, would never have openly declared their identification with technique. The idea of Impressionism, although it conjures up a hasty glimpse of reality, refers to a mental and perceptual response rather than to a material process. Even Fauvism, which seems to make a statement about the way a work is painted, refers to a "primitive" state of mind, to an aggressive psychological disposition.

Only the Macchiaioli had the humility and candor to align themselves totally with the idea of the *macchia,* which in the nineteenth-century Italian lexicon meant a sketch or sketch technique. (*Macchia* is defined as "spot" or "patch" like *macchia di sole,* "sunspot" or *macchia d'inchiostro,* "ink spot.") What the French called an *esquisse peinte* or *étude de paysage* the Macchiaioli called the *macchia.* But the French would never have classified themselves as *Esquissateurs* (Sketchers), the equivalent of the term "Macchiaioli." They retained a high-art notion, using such terms as Impressionism, Neo-Impressionism, Symbolism, Synthetism, and Cubism, all of which emphasized the intellectual and conceptual component of creation.

Consistent with their scientific and positivistic outlook, the Macchiaioli chose a label that expressed an empirical attitude. At the same time, their modest group label was based on their identification with the underclasses of Italian society. The suffix *aiolo* derives from the medieval Latin *ariolus,* which designated the plebeian groups in Florentine society. It was eventually applied to the humblest and often most marginal types of labor. These included *cenciaioli* (ragpickers), *borsaioli* (purse snatchers or pickpockets), and even *merdaioli* (shit workers). This designation continued to be applied right through the century, exemplified in the decline of the *mezzadria* system and the need to label new sub-categories of semiproletarianized *mezzadri camporaioli* (field hands), *vignaioli* (vine dressers), and *mezzaioli* (day laborers). Just as the Macchiaioli openly declared their engagement with the making, rather than the conceptualizing, of the art object, so did they readily accept the designation of the underclasses they often depicted in their work. Furthermore, during 1864 and 1865 the Macchiaioli managed to get the Promotrice installed in the meeting hall of Giuseppe Dolfi's (1818-1869) mutual aid society, the Fratellanza Artigiana (Brotherhood of Craftsmen), both to demonstrate solidarity with skilled artisans and to gain public support through association with Dolfi's organization.[8] While this plan did not succeed, it does attest to the working-class image they wished to project.

Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the theme and title of Giovanni Fattori's painting *Le Macchiaiole: Adiacenze Livornesi presso Antignano (The Brush Gatherers: The Environs of Leghorn near Antignano)* (1865), which showed in the Promotrice of 1866 (later called the Società d'Incoraggiamento). Fattori's title is clearly a play on the word for *macchia* which means both "spot" and "underbrush" or "scrubwood." Here I must differ with my colleague Dr. Dario Durbé, who feels that these meanings were kept quite distinct and that Fattori simply meant to designate the commonplace task allotted to peasant women in the *mezzadria* (sharecropper) system. First of all, as Durbé himself acknowledges, the Macchiaioli were fond of irony and double meanings; Signorini was a notorious punster whose whimsy shows up

regularly in his writings and his art. Secondly, Fattori himself associated the picture with the polemics generated by the group. In his autobiographical fragment of 1889, Fattori recalled that when it exhibited, *Le Macchiaiole* (feminine plural) provoked a great deal of discussion and debate "between the classics and the macchiaioli [masculine plural]." Since by 1866 the group's label had become a byword in Florentine art, it would seem that Fattori deliberately painted the work of "three ragged peasant women" collecting firewood on a scale usually reserved for history painting (90 x 180 cm).[9] As we have seen, the Macchiaioli frequently identified themselves with the underclasses in this way. Both Signorini and the critic Diego Martelli (1838-1896) defended Fattori on these grounds against the uproar that followed the bestowal of an award on the picture at that Promotrici.

Fattori hints at still another implication of the term *macchia* for the group by repeatedly referring to the movement as a *cospirazione*, or conspiracy. He mentions that in his youth, he served as runner for the party of action in Leghorn during the revolutionary period 1848-49, and when he later went to Florence he joined another form of "conspiracy" — the new art movement directed against the Academy and classical painting.[10] After joining the group he perceived himself as a *rinnegato*, an outlaw. Now yet another nuance of the word *macchia*, a corollary of its meaning as underbrush, was its signification for certain types of criminal or clandestine activity such as counterfeiting *(battere moneta alla macchia)*, publishing illegally *(stampare alla macchia)*, hiding out in the woods *(fare alla macchia)*, and living as an outlaw *(vivere alla macchia)*. Macchiaioli could thus refer to anyone who did these things, as well as to a bushman and "child of the bush," the term for foundlings in Florentine dialect. Here "bushes" signified "out of civil society," for the children of the bush were the children of no one.[11] Thus the marginal, the disinherited, the outlaw, and the primitive could all be grouped under the term "Macchiaioli."

One zone in Tuscany particularly suited to clandestine activity was the Maremma, whole areas of which were covered with thick, impenetrable *macchie*. The boundless plains and dense woods added to the idea of the "lonely Maremma," and it became a place for brigandage and a hideout for escapees. One of the most fascinating denizens of the Maremma was the famous bandit Domenico Tiburzi, who dominated the southern area. His control of this zone gave him the title "King of the Macchia," referring to the areas of hill and ravine densely covered with dwarf forest, tangled, thorny, full of pits and precipices, virtually inaccessible, impossible to surround, and useless to explore. A contemporary of the Macchiaioli, Tiburzi, who was born in 1826, gained a reputation in the 1850s as a kind of Robin Hood of the Maremma.

The abundant *macchie* in the Maremma made it a hunting ground for the *carbonari* (charcoal burners). The *carbonari* required scrubwood like gnarled tree trunks and dead leaves for the slow burning process of producing charcoal. The low-lying *macchie* were used in charcoal-making, which was one of the major industries on the estates in the Maremma. The *boschi* (woods) were placed under the direction of a *capoccia*, who was generally called the *capo macchia* (foreman of the macchia), and he had in his charge a team of *carbonari*. The insatiable demand for quick profits from the area led to wholesale destruction of the woods; always high on any agenda for reclamation was the need for reforestation of these devastated areas.

The close association between *macchia* and *carbonari* within the context of Tuscan life made it inevitable that the label chosen by this group of painters would have connoted subversive activity. Although in the 1850s Carbonaro political action had ceased to exist, the memory of it was still fresh in everyone's mind. As late as 1848, the king of Naples had restored the old Carbonaro constitution of 1820, and in Piedmont Carbonari veterans marched in a parade celebrating the constitution carrying a flag bearing the memorable dates of Carbonaro history, 1821-1831-1833. The term *carbonarismo* now entered the Italian vocabulary as synonymous with insurrectionary activity. Fattori's self-perception as a "renegade" taking part in a cultural "conspiracy" with his "co-conspirators" bespoke this mental connection between Macchiaioli and Carbonari. In the 1850s his hero Nino Costa (1826-1903) had even painted *La danza dei carbonari (The Dance of the Charcoal Burners)*, displaying a stormy sunset casting a threatening red and orange glow.[12] No one could have missed the reference in the 1850s, just as no one could have missed the allusion in Fattori's *Le Macchiaiole* a decade later.

Thus the Macchiaioli identified themselves, again with supreme irony, with the secret associations that stimulated the first practical efforts of the Risorgimento. In this connection it is worth noting that Freemasonry had furnished the organization and symbolism of most of these secret societies, including the Carbonari and Giovine Italia.[13] The Carbonari had taken over the idea of the lodge and the grades of organization from Freemasonry, calling their meeting houses *vendite* (shops) for the ostensible sale of charcoal. They also drew their main symbols from the world of the charcoal burners. Initiates made symbolic walks through the woods, representing the progress of humanity toward virtue. An oath was taken with the right hand resting on an ax, the basic tool of the *carbonari*, and passwords and countersigns were based on plants such as nettles and ferns, that were found in the underbrush.[14]

The link with secret societies persisted into the mid-century, with such distinguished representatives of both the Risorgimento and Macchiaioli as Mazzini, Guerrazzi, Garibaldi, and Martelli serving as Masons. Garibaldi became grand master of the Masonic Lodge in Palermo in 1860, giving credence to the suggestion that his extraordinary success in Sicily in this period was facilitated by Freemasons who served in the army of the king of Naples. Martelli's membership reflects his commitment to the ideals of social reform and anti-clericalism which were shared by his friends and guests at his estate, Castiglioncello.[15] Thus, by accepting the label "Macchiaioli" with all its subversive shades of meaning, these painters proclaimed their links with the origins and progress of the Risorgimento.

## THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE IMPRESSIONISTS

Despite the vast differences between the Italian Macchiaioli and the French Impressionists, the two groups are still confused with one another, to the detriment of an understanding of their respective historical roles. The use of the term "Italian Impressionists" in the Manchester and Edinburgh exhibitions of 1982 indicates the persistence of the French category to describe the Macchiaioli and misconstrues their relations. While they shared certain ideas, having mainly

to do with the relationship between sketching practices and modernist thinking, each sprang from distinct cultural and social formations.

First of all, the Macchiaioli preceded the Impressionists by more than a decade. Their careers unfolded within the context of the drive for national unity. The Impressionists organized in the early 1870s following the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune. Unlike the Macchiaioli, who participated in the insurrections and wars of the Risorgimento, the Impressionists and their circle generally felt little sympathy for either the national or the civil conflict. Bazille was the only one to volunteer, while Renoir was conscripted, and Cézanne allowed his father to purchase a replacement. Monet, Boudin, Sisley, and even Pissarro — the most political of the group — awaited the outcome of events in London, Brussels, and Amsterdam. Only Manet and Degas, forming part of the National Guard, participated in the defense of Paris during the Prussian siege. The unhesitating commitment of the Macchiaioli to the national struggle gives their work a more direct political significance than that of the less-engaged Impressionists.

Secondly, the Macchiaioli emerged from the social conditions of a primarily agrarian economy, while the Impressionists came out of a largely bourgeois, urban society. While we find city views and rural views in both movements, Impressionist painting much more frequently addresses the progress of industrialization and bourgeois social relations. The most characteristic theme of the French group is that of vacation: the Sunday outing, the weekend excursion, the summer voyage to a popular tourist resort. They celebrate with sensuous color and technique the leisure-class activities of their colleagues and social set. They were middle-class people with middle-class aspirations, and in lifestyle and attitude adhered to the traditional ideal of the artist.

The eleven painters whose work constitutes the core of Macchiaioli activity were all born between 1824 and 1838, and were on the average several years older than the Impressionists. Cristiano Banti (1824-1904), Vito D'Ancona (1825-1884), Giovanni Fattori (1825-1908), Silvestro Lega (1826-1895), Serafino De Tivoli (1826-1892), and Vincenzo Cabianca (1827-1902) form the older group; Giuseppe Abbati (1836-1868), Odoardo Borrani (1832-1905), Adriano Cecioni (1836-1886), Raffaello Sernesi (1838-1866), and Telemaco Signorini (1835-1901), the younger. Their diverse social backgrounds were roughly as follows: nobility and upper middle class, Lega, Banti, and D'Ancona; middle class, Abbati, Signorini, and De Tivoli; lower middle class, Borrani and Fattori; artisanal and working class, Sernesi, Cecioni, and Cabianca. The fathers of Signorini, Abbati, and Borrani were professional painters who clearly encouraged their sons' initial efforts in this direction. This is an interesting statistic, indicating a degree of parental support absent from the careers of most of the Impressionists.

As indicated, each of the Macchiaioli participated directly in the key events of the Risorgimento. All of them were close to the radical working-class movement led by Giuseppe Dolfi in Florence. The painters' meeting place was the Caffè Michelangiolo on the Via Larga (now Via Cavour), which began as a headquarters for the development of Dolfi's political intrigues and later served as a kind of "think tank" in which aesthetic problems arising from their progressive political positions were discussed.

This engagement with contemporary political and social issues did not allow for the leisure theme that so profoundly attracted the Impressionists. Neither in their colors nor in their settings do the Macchiaioli display the holiday atmosphere of the French; while they may visit resort areas near La Spezia, Lerici, and Leghorn, they generally focus on the working-class activities of the native population rather than on the vacationers. While the painters occasionally depicted their protagonists idly sitting, staring into space, or chatting — even in domestic situations — most often the figures are engaged in useful work or in some sort of collective activity. In Impressionist interiors there is nothing comparable to those Macchiaioli canvases which show women absorbed in sewing red shirts or tricolor flags in the service of the Risorgimento. In short, Macchiaioli painters rarely took off for a "day in the country" without justifying such an excursion within the framework of Risorgimento ideals.

Despite their predominantly middle-class backgrounds, the Macchiaioli, as we have seen, chose a name that identified them with marginal social elements. The very term "macchiaioli" sets the group apart from all avant-garde art movements of the modern period. While other terms such as "impressionist" and "fauvist" were likewise coined in a derogatory context, both referred to a psychological or a mental disposition more or less attuned to the public idea of the artist. That the Macchiaioli identified with the sketch phase of the pictorial process, both in jest and in political solidarity with the lower and middle classes, constituted an unprecedented aesthetic position. They were self-professed "outlaw sketchers" — a term the Impressionists, bent on achieving social legitimation, would never have applied to themselves.

For the Macchiaioli, the macchia-sketch ideal did not necessarily imply the preliminary study or preparatory activity prior to the execution of a definitive, or "finished" work. It meant instead the preservation in final paintings of the qualities associated with the sketch: the light effect, the color, the verve, and in some cases even the movement of the brush corresponding to the first "impression" of a scene in nature or an idea in the imagination. They based their art on the world of figures, attitudes, profiles, compositional movements, color combinations, and touches or "patches" which they preserved in their sketchbooks and, partly, in their memories.

Borrowing from their experience, the philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), in an essay entitled "A Theory of the 'Macchia,' " reached the conclusion that every successful work has an original pictorial nucleus called *macchia*, from which it develops and which confers on it artistic life and unity. This nucleus consists of an accord of lights and darks, lines and colors which recreate the effect glimpsed in nature or in an imaginative insight, initially embodied in the form of sketch or rough draft. In the artist's hand this embryonic cell is then capable of growing and expanding into a more detailed and coherent picture, but one which possesses all the intrinsic power of the initial impression. If it is lost in the process between sketch and picture, no amount of polish and detail will succeed in compensating for it, while the plain *macchia*, even though relatively unformed and unclarified, can stir the thoughts and emotions of the spectator.[16]

Croce based this early essay on his reading of the art critic Vittorio Imbriani (1840-1886), whose own insights were inspired by the Neapolitan animal painter Filippo Palizzi (1818-1899), an artist

well known to the Macchiaioli. Imbriani observed in Palizzi's studio a crude sketch consisting of a piece of cardboard only a few centimeters large on which there were only four or five brushstrokes. Despite the seemingly incoherent character of this sketch, Imbriani felt it was livelier than all the finished compositions in the room. Croce then extended this concept to poetry:

> Every poet knows that inspiration comes to him precisely as a *macchia*, as a motif, a rhythm, a psychic motion, or whatever you call it, in which nothing is determinate and all is determinate: in which there is already that meter and no other, those words and no others, that arrangement and no other, that extension and those proportions and no others. And every poet knows that his work consists in working out that *macchia,* that motif, that rhythm, to obtain at the end — in a shape that is fully developed and may be recited aloud, and transcribed in writing — the selfsame impression that he had received, as a flash, in his first inspiration. The value of the poem, as of the painting, lies in the *macchia*. . . .[17]

Amplifying Imbriani's insight, Croce here elaborates on the idea of the *macchia* in the context of creative inspiration; this development parallels the theoretical extension of the concept of the sketch and its attributes into a self-conscious scheme of originality, what the art historian Richard Shiff calls "a code of visual communication."[18]

But Croce's formulation is the result of the critical modern and art historical elevation of nineteenth-century art developments into autonomous movements, independent of practical urges and the constraint or inspiration of political and other extra-aesthetic interests.[19] The Macchiaioli identified with the *macchia* specifically because it allowed them to translate their immediate perceptions onto canvas, and to express themselves as Italians answering to their specific time and place. The test of their "sincerity" — the mark of the old masters they admired — was precisely this capacity to preserve their individual and national identity in the spontaneous qualities of the *macchia*-sketch. Their *macchia* procedures developed primarily in the context of Tuscan history, society, and geography, a context in which they recorded the cultural landscape of the Risorgimento era.

## THE ROLES OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AND HISTORY PAINTING

Prior to unification, patriotic aspirations were obliquely expressed primarily in opera, tragedy, historical novels, and academic history painting.[20] Under the heel of Austria or the Bourbons, it was impossible for writers and artists to espouse militant action directly or to condemn their oppressors openly. They had recourse mainly to allusion, a tactic perhaps most strikingly deployed in the patriotic historical novel. They used this technique, which had been pioneered for other purposes in the work of Sir Walter Scott, to arouse national pride and resentment against foreign domination. The historical novel allowed Italian authors to bring alive past periods of national greatness (especially the heroic republics of the Middle Ages and the achievements of the Renaissance) and enabled them, while making their readers aware of the contrast between past and present, to evade government censorship by avoiding direct reference to their own time. These novels were taken seriously by foreign governments trying to interpret contemporary Italian thought, and their patriotic message inspired the generation who fought under Garibaldi and contributed to the cultural ferment in Florence.[21]

Massimo D'Azeglio, both a historical novelist and painter, used the theme of his painting *Disfida di Barletta (Challenge of Barletta)* (1831) as the basis for his popular novel *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833).[22] Based on events stemming from a tournament between Italian and French knights in 1503, the story permitted descriptions of the landscape between Andria and Corato, just south of Barletta on the Adriatic coast. In his painting, D'Azeglio depicted the rocky promontory of Monte Gargano, north of Barletta. Identification of the landscape with a specific Italian site was of critical importance in both the historical novel and history painting, and D'Azeglio, as writer and painter, went to great lengths to get his geography right.

Inspired by the Italian regional revolts of 1830-31, D'Azeglio used the novel to express the idea that the challenge to Italian courage was not a challenge to a regional group but to the Italian nation as a whole. The Italian sponsor of the tournament recalls the ancient Romans, who ruled at a time when "those who now come from the other side of the Alps to drink the blood of Italians. . .then trembled at the very mention of the Roman name."[23]

In his second novel, *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1841), D'Azeglio attempted to recreate the events leading to the siege of Florence in 1530 by studying the historical moment with even greater precision and entering the everyday life of old Florence. De' Lapi, his protagonist, is a silk manufacturer pitted against a corrupt nobility, a manifestation of Piedmontese solidarity with the aims of the industrial classes.

Of his on-site research for the novel, D'Azeglio wrote:

> I traversed the courtyards, the stairways, penetrated everywhere, striving to figure to myself the customs, the countenances, the forms of speech, the habits of these bygone inhabitants, as, on seeing an old rusty helmet, and raising the visor, fancy sometimes attempts to paint the noble and daring visage, which once beamed from beneath.

He even scoured the countryside, interviewing the peasants and shepherds of the hills of Pistoia, who spoke the authentic Italian language and knew "so much of those remote and glorious ages." During these exchanges, D'Azeglio became oblivious to the present and saw as if in a vision, "living and real, these men so well known to me through the historian, the dramatist, and the novelist."[24]

D'Azeglio personalizes the monuments of Florence, charging them with a demonic energy that makes them palpable and awesome. When the disowned Liza breaks with her family and the state, all the patriotic associations of the civic landmarks pour in on her. As she leaves Florence, she casts one final look "at the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, which she was accustomed to consider the personification . . . of the popular cause, and of Florentine liberty [and] it seemed to her like an avenging phantom, that was watching her flight. . . ."

D'Azeglio's emphatic use of the past to stimulate patriotism in the present is revealed in his protagonist's declaration, "Union! Concord! for God's sake! Divided cities are always the prey of the enemy; Florence knows it, and Italy knows it" — a curious sentiment to put into the mouth of a sixteenth-century Florentine. Yet while anachronisms abound here and in the other Italian historical novels, their attempt to specify local history and topography in the context of everyday life created a precedent for the work of the Macchiaioli.[25]

One historical painter who mediated the transition from ro-

mantic historical painting to the new school was Francesco Hayez (1791-1882), a Venetian who settled in Milan. His personal library was rich in works by the historical novelists, several of whom he knew intimately. He counted among his close friends D'Azeglio, Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873), and Tommasso Grossi (1790-1853), painted their portraits, and borrowed themes from their writings. Politically akin to Cavour and D'Azeglio, he was a militant nationalist and a liberal on domestic issues, such as the relationship of church and state and laissez-faire economics, but a conservative when it came to retaining the social hierarchy.

One of his most engaging pictures is *I Vespri Siciliani (Sicilian Vespers)*, a work he did in several versions, starting in 1821-22 (fig. 5).[26] Hayez harkens back to thirteenth-century Sicily, when, from 1266 to 1282, the island was oppressively ruled by the Angevin king Charles d'Anjou. The painter's theme is the incident that occured in Palermo, during festivities on the Tuesday after Easter, 1282, that sparked an uprising against the French and led to the island's independence.

At the hour of vespers the citizens began making their way to the church of Santo Spirito. Suddenly, the armed soldiers of the ruling magistrate began harassing individuals. As tension mounted, one of the soldiers seized a young woman and pretended to search her bosom for concealed weapons. She fainted and fell into the arms of her husband who, choked with rage, shouted, "Death, death to the French!" At that moment a youth burst from the crowd and stabbed the soldier with his sword. The crowd now rushed ferociously upon their fully armed opponents, who were finally overwhelmed by waves of Sicilians responding to the call for general insurrection. At this moment Santo Spirito and all the churches of Palermo began ringing for vespers.

Hayez's work depicts the moment, just after the youth stabbed the soldier, when unrest began to erupt. A Sicilian fisherman raises his dagger and shouts "Death to the French," while a priest shakes his fists at the fallen soldier. Everywhere the milling crowd responds, gradually uniting in protest against the oppressors.

Not surprisingly, this episode had a rich symbolic significance for the participants in the Risorgimento. Verdi's *I Vespri Siciliani* (1853) is but one example of the vivid artistic and literary manifestations provoked by its memory. Hayez's two early versions of the theme were directly related to critical Risorgimento events. The first, which celebrated the Carbonaro insurrections in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Piedmont in 1820-21, was commissioned by the wife of a Lombard noble suspected of aiding the Piedmont uprising. The reduced version, of 1826-27, was commissioned by another Milanese noble who had been arrested during the suppression of the Carbonaro movement in Milan.[27]

Fig. 5 — Francesco Hayez, *Sicilian Vespers*

These early works were marked by melodramatic gestures and somewhat fanciful backgrounds, while the last version, of 1844 — commissioned by a liberal Neapolitan noble — conformed to the painter's more careful concern for historical and topographical accuracy. In preparation for this work, Hayez took a trip to Naples and Sicily and sketched the landscape around Palermo. The background of the late version displays the prominent rocky mass of Monte Pellegrino, viewed from the southeast. The conspicuous presence of the so-called "Rock of Palermo" in the painting establishes the precise location.

Hayez's greater topographical emphasis in the 1844 version parallels his extensive historical research and deeper awareness of contemporary political developments. The first versions were inspired by the hazy and colorful account in Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi's (1773-1842) history of the Italian republics, while the later work grew out of Michele Amari's (1806-1889) chronicle, *La guerra del Vespro Siciliano (The War of the Sicilian Vespers)*, which first appeared in 1842.[28] Amari's detailed account, based upon painstaking investigation of primary sources, was written to stimulate his fellow Neapolitan liberals to rise against the Bourbons in emulation of their thirteenth-century forebears. Here, authentic history supplanted the novel in mobilizing the elite to serve the Risorgimento.

Hayez's 1844 painting, with its concern for historical and topographical accuracy, corresponded to the evolution of the Risorgimento from an idealized and romanticized abstraction into a political actuality. While Hayez could never entirely free himself from his medieval and Renaissance packaging, his themes did acquire growing topical significance. His famous *Il Bacio (The Kiss)* (1859), although set in the fourteenth century, was immediately recognized as a metaphorical allusion to the nation's youths leaving their loved ones to participate in the Risorgimento struggle. The dashing young man in Hayez's picture embraces his lover with one foot impatiently perched on the stone stairway. He is ready for action against the enemies of Italy, and ready to subordinate personal love to the love of Mother Italy.

The clue to deciphering the message of *The Kiss* is found in Gerolamo Induno's (1825-1890) *Triste presentimento (Sad Presentiment)* (1862) (cat. no. 5). A young woman is shown rising in the morning to look at a miniature portrait of her lover, who is off fighting with Garibaldi in the south. The Milanese painter, who himself fought under Garibaldi in several campaigns, leaves no doubt about the meaning of the work: in a wall niche in the center of the picture we see a bust of the Italian hero and on the window shutter at the right a contemporary lithograph depicting Garibaldi's landing at Marsala, Sicily, in May 1860. Finally, just above and to the left of the niche

hangs a reproduction of *The Kiss*, a clear indication of the extent to which that work affected Risorgimento men and women.

It is a representative of these common citizens that the historical painter Francesco Saverio Altamura portrays carrying the first Italian tricolor flag into Florence in 1859 (cat. no. 1). Conspicuous in the background is the Tuscan Romanesque church of San Miniato al Monte atop the hill to the southeast of Florence. In actuality the church is prominent enough to be seen from several points of view, but Altamura chose to depict it from an oblique angle in order to embrace its auxiliary buildings as well. Like Hayez in the *Sicilian Vespers*, the painter carefully reproduced the site to link it to the national-patriotic theme of Tuscan independence. But unlike Hayez, he shifted his setting from the past to the present and made his youth stride right out of a medieval world onto the modern stage.

A Neapolitan political refugee who lived in Florence in exile, Altamura was deeply affected by Florentine landmarks and their historical associations. He wrote in his autobiography that wherever he went in Florence he "could not be deaf to the medieval echoes which at every moment and at every street corner murmured to him from the Florentine monuments and chronicles."[29] He painted scenes with Renaissance and medieval backdrops both before and after 1859, but unlike Hayez he could make the explicit transition to the present because of the fundamental changes brought about by his generation. Altamura was close to the circle of Giuseppe Dolfi which orchestrated the April 27, 1859, demonstration and forced the grand duke to flee Florence and leave Tuscans to control their own destiny. It may not be coincidental that the flag bearer in Altamura's picture walks past San Miniato: Dolfi owned a villa at San Casciano in Val di Pesa, about eighteen kilometers southeast of Florence, where plans for the uprising may have been hatched. Anyone walking from there to the city would have had to pass San Miniato. Altamura's work thus asserts that modern heroism now stood on the same ground as that of the glorious past.

Altamura was a close associate of the Macchiaioli, all of whom began their careers working in the historical tradition and ended up making the same transition he did. In the mid-1850s Giovanni Fattori executed a series of paintings based on Guerrazzi's *L'Assedio di Firenze (The Siege of Florence)* (1836), a novel that enflamed his patriotic feelings during his adolescence. Two of these early works depict battle scenes from the book, anticipating Fattori's mature interest in modern military scenes. Another example of this historical series, *I difensori della libertà fiorentina affrontano conversando il patibolo (The Defenders of Florentine Liberty Conversing While Confronting the Executioner's Block)* (c. 1855-58), was dedicated (with some irony) to Giuseppe Dolfi.[30] It was not until the political events of 1859-60, however, that Fattori made the shift to a modern idiom and his first tentative experiments with the *macchia*.

As the unification of Italy became a reality, Italian painters no longer had to draw inspiration from the remote past but were free to analyze their direct experience, even though much of that experience was tempered by the disillusionments of 1848 and 1859. The melodramatic, bombastic forms typical of patriotic history painting now seemed anachronistic. The Macchiaioli turned for inspiration to their immediate surroundings, concentrating on the quiet countryside, the monuments, and the peasant sharecroppers of Tuscany. The practice of the *macchia*, to reproduce the light conditions of the world of sensation, gave the Macchiaioli an empirical basis consonant with modernity and the advance of scientific and industrial ideals associated with the Risorgimento. They identified their sites without declamation or showy objects, content to disclose it by concentrating on the unembellished facts of daily life.

## THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE RISORGIMENTO

The genesis and development of the Macchiaioli practice coincided with the critical chain of events of the Risorgimento leading to Italian independence and unity: the participation of the Piedmontese army in the Crimean War, which won for Cavour the admiration and support of France and England; the participation of Piedmont in the Peace Conference of 1856; the union of the French and Piedmontese against the Austrians in 1859; the popular uprising in Florence and the expulsion of the grand duke of Tuscany; Garibaldi's madcap adventure in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860; and the annexations to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont of Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, the Romagna, and the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily). Although historians debate over when the liberal nationalist movement originated, there can be no doubt that it reached its territorial peak between 1859 and 1861, the year the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed.

Eighteen thousand Piedmontese troops left for the Crimea in April 1855, and in August fought tolerably well against a superior Russian force in the Battle of Tchernaya. In the same year the famous Universal Exposition in Paris, France's competitive response to England's Great Exhibition of 1851, attracted international crowds which included the Italian painters Domenico Morelli, Francesco Saverio Altamura, and Serafino De Tivoli. Telemaco Signorini, a Macchiaiolo and the historian of the group, wrote that De Tivoli was at that time the most innovative thinker of the Caffè Michelangiolo clientele and introduced them to "the violent chiaroscuro" that he had discovered in the works of Decamps, Troyon, and Bonheur at the Universal Exposition. This introduction entitled him to be called the "papà della macchia."[31] Thus the military and diplomatic breakthrough achieved by Cavour in the Crimea corresponded with the aesthetic discoveries of the Macchiaioli.

While in 1855 Piedmont-Sardinia and Tuscany were separate states, their fortunes had already been linked in Piedmont in 1848 when Grand Duke Leopoldo II sent a small force of regulars to help King Carlo Alberto of Piedmont in his abortive effort to defeat the Austrians in Lombardy. In his proclamation of war to the peoples of Lombardo-Veneto, Carlo Alberto used the phrase "L'Italia farà da sè" (Italy will make it on its own), a slogan that became the popular expression of Italian hopes in 1848. Throughout Italy liberals urged and even forced their princes to follow Carlo Alberto's lead. Leopoldo II, although a Hapsburg, issued a stirring proclamation in which he reminded Tuscans that the cause of Italian independence would be decided on the fields of Lombardy. Not coincidentally, the future Macchiaioli and their friends had responded to the call for action: De Tivoli enlisted with the Tuscan volunteers who fought in this campaign, and Morelli and Altamura participated in the Naples uprising

in May 1848 and eventually were forced to seek asylum in Florence. Hence all three participated in the 1848 insurrections marking the initial phase of the unification struggle.

Their presence in Paris in 1855 had both aesthetic and political motivations. They came to view the work of their friend Vito D'Ancona and that of his teacher Giuseppe Bezzuoli (1784-1855) which was shown in the Tuscan display of the Fine Arts section.[32] They also formed part of a larger Tuscan contingent which traveled to Paris to demonstrate support for both the cultural and industrial products of their countrymen. The great Chianti wine producer Bettino Ricasoli won a medal for his exhibit, which attracted many Florentine business leaders to Paris, including Cosimo Ridolfi, a pioneer of Tuscan industry and agriculture, and Lorenzo Ginori, the head of the porcelain manufactory in Tuscany.[33] All three were wealthy landowners who belonged to the prestigious Accademia dei Georgofili, an association whose aim was "the progress, encouragement, and propagation of theoretical and practical knowledge concerning agriculture and any other branch of Economy."[34] Like the painters, they came to Paris not only to see the display of Tuscan industry and agricultural products but also to catch a glimpse of the latest international technical and artistic achievements.

The awards ceremony for the 1855 exposition was opened by Prince Jerome Napoleon, who linked the spectacle at home with the stunning victories of the French in the Crimea. He claimed that the exposition embodied the emperor's most cherished dreams of progress, setting out before all the nations examples of French perfection in the methods and instruments of labor. Agriculture especially, which received the emperor's generous solicitude, stood out for its mechanical advances and its potential contribution to the national prosperity. At the same time, these advances promised to emancipate the field worker, the farmer, and the sharecropper from the "brutal part" of rural labor. These ideas profoundly affected Ricasoli, who shortly afterward experimented with a new mechanical reaper on his recently acquired lands in the Tuscan Maremma.

The aesthetic complement of this spirited promotion of agricultural progress was the rural scene-painting of the French Barbizon school, which was brilliantly represented in the 1855 exposition. These paintings drew the attention of the Italian artists, especially De Tivoli, with their novel techniques and naturalistic renderings. The government of Napoleon III supported the painters of rural life, and De Tivoli's favorites — Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Constant Troyon, and Rosa Bonheur — all received the highest awards of distinction in the closing festivities. These painters' light-infused landscapes, with their palpable surface textures, seemed to impart to rural scenery a modern look equivalent to the official ideal of agricultural progress. The concept of a modern style of painting that could parallel modern industrial and agrarian progress was what De Tivoli, Altamura, and Morelli brought back to their artist friends in Florence. The presence of De Tivoli and his colleagues in Paris at that moment, like that of Ricasoli, Ginori, and Ridolfi, was an expression of their need to keep abreast of a changing, contemporary world. (The convergence of their aims may be seen in the fact that Ridolfi was soon to collect De Tivoli's work.[35]) Just four years later they would pin their political and economic hopes on the military and political alliance between Piedmont and France. It is in this sense that the birth of the *macchia* is inseparable from the desire to raise Italy to the level of other cultural, economic, and political powers.

The Prince Napoleon who opened the Paris awards ceremony also led the Fifth Army Corps of the French army into Florence in late May 1859, with the avowed purpose of maintaining order in the city and guarding the Florentines from an Austrian takeover. On April 27, the same day that Austria had declared war on Piedmont, the grand duke was expelled from Florence. Ricasoli, who became head of the Provisional Government, offered the king of Piedmont the dictatorship of Tuscany for the duration of the war with the understanding that a final political settlement would follow the peace. Pressured by extremists on the Right, Ricasoli requested troops from Piedmont to maintain order in Tuscany. Cavour declined since he felt he could not spare the soldiers, and Ricasoli then turned to the French. On May 17 Napoleon III decided to send his cousin Prince Napoleon to Tuscany with the multiple strategy of impeding Piedmont's ambitions in central Italy, staving off the "socialist" movement that he suspected lay behind the Florence uprising, and intimidating the Austrians. Outside these flimsy pretexts, the dispatch of French troops to Tuscany lacked the slightest military justification.

The French troops arrived in Florence on May 28 (fig. 6) and made camp on the great meadow of the Cascine, a park in Florence extending parallel to the northern bank of the Arno River. Called the Pratone, this meadow was the site of a racetrack which the upper classes attended on Sundays. The French set up double rows of tents, and the spectacle of these tents, together with the cavalry horses and other military equipment, struck a strange note in the park so often used for promenades and entertainment of various sorts.[36] French engineers even went so far as to erect a showy temple in front of the camp, ornamented with a variety of military trophies and guarded by two colossal busts of Napoleon III and Vittorio Emanuele.

After the enthusiasm of the initial reception, however, the spectacle of the French troops in the park degenerated into a form of public entertainment. Crowds and carriages began circulating through the rows of tents which now provided a theatrical backdrop

Fig. 6 — *The Arrival of Prince Napoleon in Florence, May 31, 1859*

for the groups of idle soldiers chopping down park trees, cooking, eating, shaving, and dressing. Refreshments were sold by street vendors, and citizens and soldiers danced together to the tunes of the military band.

It is within this context that we may appreciate Giovanni Fattori's first experiments in the *macchia* technique. Like his fellow Tuscans, he was drawn to the Cascine to watch the French troops play at soldiering in the park. His seminal studies eliminate the obvious absurdities of the French presence while yet retaining their anomalous condition, examining them with a sobriety and gravity that set the tone of the Macchiaioli movement. His *Soldati francesi del '59 (French Soldiers of '59)* (cat. no. 15) attests to a new direction in his work, a shift from the academic history pictures of his teacher Bezzuoli to a type of modern history painting based on perceived experience. While the series of studies of soldiers in the Cascine were only tentative, they inaugurated his lifelong fascination with military themes and led to his more monumental Risorgimento battle scenes.

The military picture — that is, scenes depicting contemporary soldiers — permitted young artists trained in the academic tradition legitimately to enter the circle of modern art. The spectacular battle was consistent with traditional emphasis on glorious exploits and heroic bombast, but at the same time it required careful study of topography, uniforms, the time of day, and even weather conditions. While no painter of battles could avoid nationalist propaganda, even the most blatant images of military aggrandizement demanded a high degree of realism. Among military painters of the nineteenth century, however, Fattori was unique not only in divesting his scenes of heroic grandeur but in depicting battles which his side lost.

Of all the Macchiaioli, Fattori was the only one who continued to paint military subjects after unification. Eventually he evolved a stereotyped approach to satisfy a lucrative market stimulated by those who had profited most from the Risorgimento. But throughout his career he insisted on fidelity to his view of reality and on the originality of his treatment. In 1873 he wrote his dealer in Trieste, for whom he painted a number of military scenes, that what his work might lack in smoothness and unity of color it more than made up in its attention to actuality and the "exact impression." And he concluded: "Every artist has his monogram, every artist has his way of interpreting reality . . . . If I have acquired a modest reputation in the exhibitions, it has been only on the basis of my originality which neither imitates nor recalls the work of anyone else."[37]

In 1859 he aimed at an accurate depiction of reality and at affirming that his perception had a subjective component which constituted his originality. This went right to the heart of the *macchia* concept, explaining its heterogeneous manifestations by the Macchiaioli. Fattori developed a characteristic viewpoint of military personnel, often depicting them from the rear on horseback or standing guard, or against neutral backdrops whose bright reflections and contrasting ground emphasize the isolation and tension of military life. Military life is neither romanticized nor glorified; Fattori reveals its tedium, its loneliness, its wastefulness, its dreadful anticipation. He derived these insights from his exposure to the French contingent on the Cascine in late May and early June of 1859.

Thus the *French Soldiers of '59* is a fundamental study which declares Fattori's new direction and speaks for the outlook of his colleagues. Yet without a consideration of Risorgimento politics it makes little sense. The strangely silhouetted troops staggered in pairs are frozen into immobility by the contrasting background. They seem to hover in mid-air and, despite the cast shadows, they lack fixity of position and project irresolution and uncertainty. Fattori closely observed the distinction between the slovenly troops and the more regal bearing of the officer at the right, but the body of the officer is twisted in expectation and seems as confused as the infantrymen. The situation of these troops is ambiguous and tentative, and Fattori's summary technique is eminently well suited for the blurred reality of French presence in Florence at this time.

But Fattori does not reveal them as the circus oddities they were for many Florentines. He neither exaggerates nor dramatizes their circumstances; if anything, his study is understated and dispassionate. Like the faceless heads of the soldiers, the picture is deadpan and uninflected. This restraint seems surprising in view of the events of the period and the excitement and enthusiasm for the Risorgimento. Yet it is in exactly this sense that Fattori and his fellow Macchiaioli address the history of their time — not in the romantic, swashbuckling manner of their predecessors, such as Hayez and Bezzuoli, who looked to the past for the energy that was lacking in the present — but in the day-to-day unfolding of events. The lack of emotion and the corollary realism of the *macchia* are based on a candid appraisal of visual facts rather than on a projection of good things to come. The many disappointments and disillusionments attending the Risorgimento did not allow for positive anticipation. This is the foundation of Macchiaioli empiricism and progressive materialism.[38]

We see this attitude again in Fattori's painted studies of military life from 1860, such as the *Accampamento di bersaglieri (Bivouac of the Bersaglieri)* and the *Accampamento (Bivouac)*, both signed and thus not meant to serve as the basis of a more magisterial theme (cat. nos. 18 and 20). In the *Bersaglieri* Fattori does not celebrate this elite cadre of the Piedmontese army but instead brings us close up to the monotony of camp existence. In the *Bivouac* he takes a panoramic view of the campgrounds which spread out into the Tuscan countryside. The uniformity and regimentation of the troops are seen in the neat rows of tents which extend along the horizontal plane like anchored sailboats. Troops are seen loitering in groups or individually, their presence quickly noted in abruptly shifting dabs of paint. When we recall that 1860 was the peak year in the political unification of Italy, unification brought about largely through military action, Fattori's representations of army life seem breathtakingly detached and low-keyed.

Dario Durbé has called attention to the relationship of the *Bivouac* to Fattori's early Tuscan landscapes of around the same time.[39] The painter's obsessive concern for truthful images of military life required precise rendering of the topographical characteristics of landscape, whether battlefield or campground. In linking Italian troops to a specific Tuscan site, Fattori made his first contribution to the modern patriotic ideal.

## THE RICASOLI COMPETITIONS

During this same period, Fattori made his initial entrance into official Risorgimento culture. The Provisional Government under Bettino Ricasoli decreed a series of competitions for fine artists on

September 23, 1859. The proposed themes were directly tied to Florentine history and the recent events of the Risorgimento. Considering the sad state of the Tuscan economy after the expulsion of the grand duke, foreign observers questioned the Provisional Government's willingness to allocate a relatively large sum of money for the encouragement of the fine arts, no matter how noble the enterprise. As they were soon to discover, however, the contests were only a small part of a huge propaganda campaign. Ricasoli used the press, public ceremonies, and even cultural events to prepare the public to accept Tuscan annexation to the Italian union as a fait accompli. Throughout the remainder of 1859, Ricasoli spoke recklessly of the union as an accomplished fact, a mad risk backed by his ardent campaign.

Bettino Ricasoli (1809-1880) descended from one of the oldest noble families in Tuscany which since the eleventh century had controlled the Chianti hills between Siena and Florence. He carried on the family enterprise effectively by rigid discipline and the application of advanced techniques in his agrarian activities. He won awards at the major world's fairs for his fine Chianti wine, which is still produced on the Ricasoli estates; the labels on present-day bottles proudly bear his portrait (fig. 7). His determined expression and bearing convey that fixity of resolve that carried him through the complicated maneuvers of 1859.

Ricasoli's energy in that period was focused on preventing the fallen dynasty of Lorraine from returning to Florence. Through a series of economic and cultural reforms he hoped to create a mind-set hostile to the pretenders. Although the king (pressured by Napoleon III) gave an ambiguous response to the Tuscan deputation offering their state to him, Ricasoli seized on the verbal vagueness and simply acted as if Vittorio Emanuele had accepted. He issued a whole bundle of unifying decrees affecting passports, the monetary system, customs, and the post office, all with the aim of harmonizing his administrative system with Piedmont's. By the end of September, the government could proclaim that it exercised power in the name of the king. The Cross of Savoy now appeared on the tricolor banners, and all public documents were headed "Regnando S.M. Vittorio Emanuele" (The Reigning Vittorio Emanuele).

Ricasoli launched a series of patriotic festivals, ceremonies, and balls to win Florentine high society to his side. For the underclasses he distributed cheap prints of the king and subsidized popular brochures and pamphlets which generally featured members of the clergy praising the Provisional Government and attacking Leopoldo II. He commissioned Giosuè Carducci (1835-1907), soon to be the foremost poet of the Risorgimento and a close friend of the Macchiaioli, to write a national hymn known as "Alla Croce Bianca di Savoia" (The White Cross of Savoy). Meanwhile, amid his flurry of cultural innovations, the famous Tuscan *stornello* (folk song), with its special rhyming patterns and rhythms, was adopted to help further crystallize anti-Austrian sentiments. Enthused crowds would march down the Via Larga past the Caffè Michelangiolo singing the stirring war hymn "Va' fuori d'Italia" (Get Out of Italy), the martial song of Garibaldi's volunteer army of 1859, known as the Cacciatori delle Alpi (Sharpshooters of the Alps). Ricasoli did everything possible to whip up and maintain this patriotic enthusiasm, especially later in the year, as the pressures from within and without mounted.

He laid down the principle that the theater had to "aid the national Risorgimento," and he deployed it as a medium of patriotic education. In February 1860, a month before the plebiscite for annexation, the famous Teatro Cocomero changed its name to the Teatro Niccolini, in honor of the dramatist Giovanni Niccolini (1782-1861), whose long-banned tragedy *Arnaldo da Brescia* (1843) was performed for the first time in Florence before an overflow audience. Prolonged applause followed Arnaldo's speeches, which defied the pope and called for a united Italy loosened from the shackles of foreign despotism. Significantly, Telemaco Signorini was present at one of these performances, and he and his companions seized the opportunity to distribute pamphlets written by Dolfi promoting annexation.[40]

Ricasoli tried to win the artists over with his proposed reforms for the Accademia delle Belle Arti (Academy of Fine Arts), still run according to Austrian regulations. Early in September the leading Florentine artists assembled to discuss Ricasoli's plan, which emphasized appointing a wider range of independent master painters and permitting a greater liberty of choice for students.[41] The government hoped to entice the well-known artists to this scheme by offering them rent-free studios, regular commissions for pictures and statues, and fat retirement pensions.

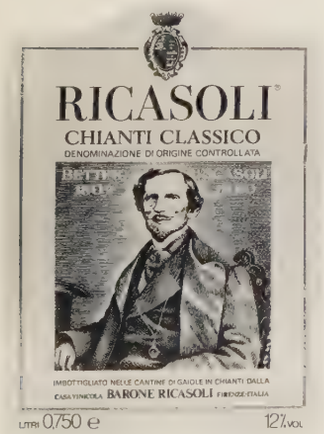



Fig. 7 — Wine label with portrait of Bettino Ricasoli

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE COMPETITIONS

It was in the critical month of September, when Ricasoli gambled on Turin and Paris to meet his demands, that the famous art competitions were announced. Their connection with political events was immediately perceived in diplomatic circles. Indeed, no document could be more telling about the interaction between culture and politics during the Risorgimento than the September 23 decree creating the competitions. Ricasoli clearly meant the contest to bolster his propaganda campaign. Using the French government-sponsored competitions of 1830 and 1848 as his models, Ricasoli intended to reinforce his platform with visual documents that gave the illusion of political reality. Each of the subjects had been carefully selected to link Florence's glorious past to its heroic present and to present union with Piedmont as a given. In this sense they helped prepare the public for the plebiscite which took place the following March.

The decree was published in the major newspapers, first in the official *Monitore Toscano* and then in *La Nazione*, which had been founded by Ricasoli. It called for the creation of monumental equestrian statues of "The King Vittorio Emanuele" and of Napoleon III to be erected in the Piazza dell'Indipendenza. It specified that these monuments were not simple decorations but were meant to commemorate and perpetuate the memory of these "two champions of Italian independence." In addition, the competition asked for two monumental statues of the same rulers for Leghorn, a series of statues of leading Tuscan intellectuals and heroes of the Risorgimento from Lucca, Siena, and Pisa, and a number of portraits of recent public figures and writers identified with the national movements. Next, four historical compositions of ancient and modern themes were proposed. The first two recalled the legendary exploits of Marius, conqueror of the Cimbri, and of the Lombard League's defeat of Frederick Barbarossa. The remaining themes were based on two recent acts of the Assembly of Tuscan Representatives: the voting of Tuscany's incompatibility with the Austrian House of Lorraine and the reception of Vittorio Emanuele by the Tuscan delegation, which presented him with the decree proposing annexation of Tuscany to the Throne of Italy.[42]

An important military category called for the depiction of episodes from the battles of Curtatone, Palestro, Magenta, and San Martino. Four other works of military episodes were open to the contestants' choice. Next there were commissions for six portraits of the great heroes of the Risorgimento — Vincenzo Gioberti, Cesare Balbo, Carlo Troya, Silvio Pellico, Giovanni Berchet, and Giuseppe Giusti — who advanced the national cause through their writings. Finally, there were medals to be engraved showing the Tuscan Representatives resolving not to receive back the House of Lorraine and voting to form part of "a strong throne under the constitutional scepter of the king Vittorio Emanuele II."[43]

Even the most cursory review of these themes reveals the contest's programmatic intent. First, pride of place was given to images of the rulers of the two powers that alone could guarantee Tuscany its independence from Austria. Next, the series of sculpted effigies of Italian heroes of the past and present revealed a message meant to appeal mainly to Tuscan moderates. Francesco Burlamacchi (1498-1548) of Lucca had held strong convictions about regional unification in central Italy and was decapitated for his participation in a plot against Cosimo de' Medici (Ricasoli called him "the first martyr of Italian unity"); Sallustio Bandini (1677-1760) had been a Physiocrat (a member of an eighteenth-century economic reform movement) who advocated free trade and wrote an essay on the Tuscan Maremma; Leonardo Fibonacci, a mathematician in twelfth-century Pisa was a pioneer in algebraic studies and explained reckoning and monetary theory for the merchant classes. Destined to be erected in the birthplaces of the heroes, these statues functioned as historical pointers to the principles and ideological goals of Ricasoli's program.

The first two historical themes related to Italian victories (one ancient and one medieval) over Germano-Austrian forces. Marius was a Roman general and consul who defeated the Cimbri, an ancient German tribe that posed a threat to Rome in the late second century B.C. The theme of Barbarossa's defeat can only be appreciated in the context of Risorgimento culture. One of Giuseppe Verdi's most important musical contributions to the drive for unification was the opera *La Battaglia di Legnano (The Battle of Legnano)*, first performed in Rome in 1849. The contemporary meaning of the opera, which celebrated Barbarossa's defeat, was perfectly clear, and the premiere produced a "furore." While it was censored in the reactionary period after 1848-49 and forced to undergo mutation in Austrian-held territories, *The Battle of Legnano* became a rallying point for patriots and enjoyed a great revival in 1859. Thus Ricasoli's inclusion of this theme in the contests would have immediately invoked the patriotic enthusiasm stirred by Verdi's opera.

Ricasoli's two modern themes went straight to the heart of his political position; the first expressed his adamant conviction that the grand duke would not be allowed back under any circumstances, and the second expressed his assumption of Vittorio Emanuele's acceptance of the Tuscan request for annexation to Piedmont. Here in fact was a call for a pictorial realization of an "historical event" which at that moment existed only in Ricasoli's imagination. So it is not surprising that his next category comprised the costly battles of 1848 and 1859 — Curtatone, Palestro, Magenta, and San Martino — in which Tuscan volunteers, Piedmontese, and French troops distinguished themselves in combat against the Austrians. In this way, unequivocal and irrevocable material fact was used to muster support for the sheerest of fantasies.

The painted portraits of Gioberti, Balbo, and Pellico were advanced to glorify recent heroes of the Risorgimento whose moderate views coincided with those of Ricasoli. Gioberti and Balbo were closely tied to the early constitutional program of Piedmont-Sardinia. The poet Giovanni Berchet (1783-1851) collaborated with Pellico on the liberal paper *Il Conciliatore* and was implicated in the plot to persuade young Carlo Alberto to lead his Sardinian troops against the Austrians in Lombardy; Carlo Troya (1784-1858), of whom memories were still fresh, was the great medieval historian who resided in exile in Tuscany for many years; Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850) was the popular satirical poet who sang of love and prudence as the means to make Italy's "boot" all of one piece and all of one color.

Ricasoli's competitions served a multiform purpose. Besides reinforcing his propaganda campaign, they allowed him to win over both the gifted talents of Tuscan society and their audiences and to present a platform of principles which he in fact managed to carry out. The contest constituted the single most important cultural event of the period, and so it is not surprising to find that several of the future Macchiaioli and their friends entered and won in the various categories. Adriano Cecioni, the lone sculptor in the group and important for articulating its theory, won a prize for his model of the statue of Carlo Alberto. Altamura obtained the commission to depict Marius defeating the Cimbri, Antonio Pucinelli won for his composition of the king receiving the Tuscan Delegation, and Giovanni Costa (mistakenly listed as being from Leghorn), Silvestro Lega, and Odoardo Borrani won awards for their miscellaneous military scenes. But the main prize in the battle category fell to Giovanni Fattori's entry for the Battle of Magenta.

Thus it was under the auspices of the Ricasoli competitions that Fattori painted his first major military picture (cat. no. 19). Fattori was delighted to receive this commission, and until the end of his life he considered it the turning point of his career. He associated it explicitly

with Ricasoli and recollected that it represented the only time in recent Italian history when art received this type of large-scale encouragement: "A sublime thought came to the proud baron: to encourage Tuscan art . . . and with him terminated the epoch of encouragement."[44]

The decisive moment for Fattori came when Giovanni Costa, an older painter not formally identified with the Macchiaioli, persuaded him to participate in the contest. Costa was the son of a wealthy landowner and wool manufacturer, and his family belonged to the liberal segment of the population that looked to unification for the advancement of trade relations with the various parts of the peninsula. He joined Mazzini's Giovine Italia in 1847 and was active in Rome during 1848-49. In 1848 he enlisted in the Roman Legion that was sent to the Venetian frontier, fought the Austrians in May, and in April of the following year defended Rome against the French under Garibaldi. In 1859 Costa enlisted in the crack Aosta Cavalleggieri (light cavalry) regiment of the Piedmontese army. Following the disillusionment of the treaty of Villafranca, the depressed Costa made his way gradually to Florence, arriving in the autumn of 1859. He then turned his attention to a study of the Tuscan landscape, painting pictures along the Arno.

Ricasoli's cultural and bureaucratic reforms, his competitions, the Promotrice, and the general political effervescence all drew Costa to Florence. The city in this period was hospitable to exiles and political refugees, a favorite haunt of Italian writers, artists, and patriots from outlying regions and Italian provinces. Thus it became a site for what Raymond Williams calls a "paranational" cultural formation,[45] supported by wealth derived from patrons in the service and financial sectors of the Florentine economy who identified their outlook with that of political and artistic dissidents. Costa's choice of Florence was an extension of his participation in the Risorgimento and bespoke his need to rekindle his enthusiasm. Like the Macchiaioli, however, he wished to explore aspects of the Tuscan countryside dispassionately. After the defeats of 1848-49 and the blow of Villafranca, he was left with only a small reservoir of hope. His stay in Tuscany was a period of stocktaking in which he ruminated on the lessons of the past.

Costa began by painting the area around the mouth of the Arno, west of Pisa, where it flows into the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas. A landscapist searching for motifs near the mouth of the Arno was also combing the ground of the geological, agricultural, and historical roots of Tuscany. Costa did a series of pictures in this area with specific topographical designations, thus relating his work to that of the Macchiaioli, all of whom at one time or another painted in the vicinity of the Arno, which gave titles to many of their pictures. Along with its tributaries, the Arno provided the main source of fertility for the farm lands around Florence. Its rich historical associations, including its terrifying floods, are etched deeply into Florentine culture. Their fascination with the Arno valley demonstrates the key role geography played in linking the landscapists with the Risorgimento.

As soon as Costa settled in Florence, he began to proselytize among the younger painters, urging them to connect their work to the national cause. Costa helped those artists such as Fattori who had not yet broken with the tradition of academicized romanticism. While Fattori was painting his *macchia* studies in the Cascine, he was also working on *Maria Stuarda al campo di Crookstone (Mary Stuart on the Battlefield at Crookstone)* (1861) (cat. no. 22), a picture based on Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Abbot* (1820). This painting, which focused on Mary Stuart's presence at the death of George Douglas, was a late example of Italian romanticism and was deeply influenced by the example of Fattori's teacher Bezzuoli. Its civil war backdrop, its vividly depicted battle scene, and its emphasis on Douglas' heroic dedication to the powerful presence of his queen combined to link it to the present. As Douglas dies he declares that he is proud to be "pitied by Mary Stewart [sic]."

Fattori later recalled that he was then wavering between the opposing realist and romantic alternatives, and that he also intended to make a large picture based on an episode drawn from the history of the Medici. At this point, he was introduced to Costa by Felice De Tivoli. Costa examined his recently begun Medici work, as well as Fattori's *macchia* experiments in the countryside and the Cascine. Costa told him with great candor that he was misusing his talent on fashionable medieval subjects and then invited him to his own studio to see his recent landscape studies.

Shortly afterward, Costa persuaded Fattori to enter the Ricasoli competitions. Fattori recalled that they were strolling across the Piazza del Duomo, with the glorious mass of the cathedral, Giotto's bell tower, and the octagonal Baptistery of San Giovanni (where all the prominent citizens of Florence were baptized) sharply defined against the sky, when he turned to Costa and asked, "What would you say if I decided to compete for the Battle of Magenta picture?" "Compete and win!" Costa shot back. Fattori followed his advice and, beginning with that moment, "became an artist."[46]

The historical importance of this oft-told anecdote lies in the fact that Costa helped Fattori make the momentous decision by confirming his intuitive sense of the *macchia* as a valid cultural expression of Risorgimento activity. The story, furthermore, is shot through with patriotic references, from the theme of the Medici to the description of the Piazza del Duomo. It cannot be a coincidence that Fattori brought up the competitions with the Baptistery directly in full view: as an artist who spent much of his apprenticeship copying the frescoes of the Quattrocento he would surely have recalled the competition of 1401 for the north portal of that edifice which Lorenzo Ghiberti entered and won. In this sense, its historical continuity symbolically linked the Rinascimento and the Risorgimento in the evolution of Italian culture. The shift from Medici to Magenta was based on Fattori's need to find his own voice and to perpetuate the example of the masters of the past.

Having completed the *Mary Stuart* under the influence of Bezzuoli and the French history painter Paul Delaroche — and by 1861 it was almost an anachronism in Fattori's work — he had shifted to Florentine subjects, as some of the Macchiaioli and his more academically inclined friends were doing. The Ricasoli contest intervened at this moment of creative ferment, permitting Fattori to make the shift to a contemporary mode through the use of an academically acceptable subject.

## THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA

Fattori, however, deviated from the subject proposed in Ricasoli's decree to portray *Il campo italiano durante la battaglia di*

*Magenta (The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta).* Since the Italians barely participated in this combat, it would have been inappropriate to depict a heroic charge or clash involving their troops. His approach is consistent with that taken in his understated approach to the *macchia* depictions of the French soldiers in the Cascine. Fattori sets the scene with a panoramic stretch of the battlefield, with the horizon line above the figures in the foreground. Two groups, Italian and French, are separated by a road on which an ambulance has momentarily stopped. The ambulance is run by the Sisters of Charity, one of whom treats a wounded French soldier while another signals to an Italian infantryman for help. The mounted French officers and their standing subordinates alike regard the sight of the passing Italians with respect. The Italians march in formation, seemingly unaware that they are being observed with this deference. During the defense of Rome in 1849, the French general Oudinot had declared contemptuously that "the Italians do not fight." Ten years later the French learned to see the Piedmontese troops in a different light. Fattori's approach was daring and original, demonstrating the veristic *macchia* sensibility and passion for fact.

As indicated earlier, the idea of the *macchia* was not confined to quick painted sketches but related also to finished works in which the light effect constituted a pictorial nucleus which could be preserved in the more definitive work that grew out of it. The *macchia* in this sense became the formal leitmotif of the picture, informing its ultimate tonal values and local color. We know that Fattori traveled to the battle site in 1861 to sketch the topographical details, but it is not clear where he derived his information for the *bozzetto* (painted sketch) *Il Campo italiano durante la battaglia di Magenta (The Italian Camp at the Battle of Magenta)* and for the cartoon *(cartone,* a magnified, detailed drawing for transfer to the canvas) required by the contest.

It is possible that he had access to photographs taken at the site. As Nancy Troyer has shown, the Macchiaioli were deeply affected by photography, a medium whose growth in mid-century Florence had been stimulated mainly by tourism.[47] The Alinari brothers' studio (soon to become the city's leading photographic firm) and several others had set up to photograph monuments, portraits, and landscapes for foreign visitors as a substitute for the old *vedute.* One example of Macchiaioli dependence on photography is Fattori's pencil sketches of posing *bersaglieri* done in preparation for the *Magenta*: these bear a striking resemblance to the typical military photographs of the period (fig. 8).

Further evidence of his debt to photography emerges when Fattori's picture is compared with the French painter Ernest Meissonier's *Napoleon III at Solferino,* which was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1864 (fig. 9). Meissonier, who was present at this second major battle of the 1859 war, takes a different viewpoint, but his work displays several details in common with Fattori's *Magenta.* The French troops are situated on a height called La Spia, and the battle is in progress on the plain below. Meissonier directs our gaze to the right of the general staff on the hill, where we see the horse-drawn ammunition wagons waiting in reserve. Fattori, with his deeper and more personal understanding of the significance of the outcome of these battles for the Risorgimento, brings us nearer to the field than Meissonier, who distances his French audience from the Solferino carnage. At the same time, such important details as the enemy dead in the extreme left foreground, the disposition of the mounted officers, and the wagons are similar in the two works. Since neither artist could have seen the other's work, it is probable that each relied on a common source such as photographs or wood engravings reproduced in illustrated periodicals.[48]

While Fattori's theme and its presentation are unique, they correspond to the substance of a recollection of Solferino written by another French military painter, Adolphe Yvon. Yvon went to Italy shortly after the Battle of Magenta and subsequently exhibited a painting of a violent episode from that combat in the Paris Salon of 1863. At this exhibition he also showed *Evacuation of the Wounded,* a picture of a convoy of Italian ambulances transporting the wounded of Solferino to makeshift hospitals. Describing the lugubrious convoy, he wrote:

> The branches affixed to the wagons provided the wounded with a shelter from the torrid sun and the attacks of flies and grasshoppers. Not a complaint, not a word escaped from these breasts, many of which already seemed to have ceased beating. I

Fig. 8 — (a) Military photograph (c. 1850s) (b) Giovanni Fattori, *Bersagliere* (c. 1860s)

Fig. 9 — Ernest Meissonier, *Napoleon III at Solferino*

could not help saluting, trembling with emotion, these miserable victims united in a community of suffering in their narrow space, without respect for rank, nationality or race. I dashed off on the wing several sketches of these sad corteges.[49]

This sentiment of respect and compassion, although articulated from a French perspective, is conveyed in the Fattori painting, which captures something indefinable that resonates between the French and their allies. Yet it is significant that Fattori's mark of respect for his own countrymen is depicted modestly without histrionics or mawkishness — unusual for nineteenth-century battle painting.

That both Fattori and Yvon seize on the leitmotif of the ambulance is no coincidence, since the sight was pervasive during the wars in Lombardy. The fact that neither side in the battles of Magenta and Solferino had made adequate medical preparations for casualties aroused public opinion against the callousness of both the French and the Austrians. It was the sight of thousands of wounded and dying men lying uncared for on the field of Solferino that stirred the Genevan Jean-Henri Dunant to publish his observations and urge the formation of some neutral agency to bring relief to those who fell in battle. His efforts led to the foundation of the International Red Cross.[50]

Fattori's central placement of the ambulance divides the French and the Italians formally but unites them thematically. The white tunic of the wounded victim seen in the front of the ambulance indicates that he is Austrian and exemplifies one of Dunant's most poignant testimonies. He observed at Solferino that enemy wounded were given inferior care by the victors, a situation requiring a medical team which would treat both sides with equal compassion. Fattori's original insight reflects his humanistic sensibility in what appears as a relatively objective presentation of a battle scene: the French and Italian groups are mediated by the ambulance moving along a diagonal between them, carrying Italian nuns and French and Austrian wounded. Clearly, Fattori's view is that war is not an opportunity for glory and heroism but an occasion creating a singular community, whose members are bound by common suffering.

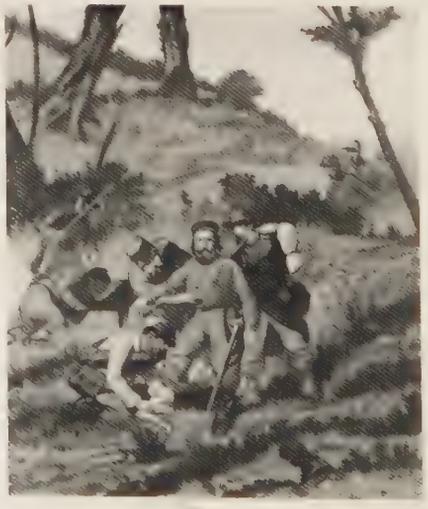
## FATTORI AND GARIBALDI

A sheet of drawings by Fattori in the collection of the Uffizi displays on one side a study of one of the nuns for the *Magenta* and, on the verso, studies of Garibaldi's troopers for the painting *Garibaldi a Palermo (Garibaldi at Palermo)* (1860-62) (cat. no. 21).[51] The work testifies to Fattori's immersion in the military events of 1859-61. It may be said that these "back-to-back" sketches parallel the back-to-back episodes unfolding in the drama of unification after Magenta. The next major development was Garibaldi's unprecedented campaign in the south and the taking of Palermo against overwhelming odds on May 31, 1860. This incredible feat, like the expedition itself, was an event that caught the imaginations of people around the world. It elevated Garibaldi to the level of a universal folk hero of national liberation movements.

Garibaldi's band of volunteers, *I Mille* (The Thousand), inspired numerous popular prints and paintings. Many of these show Garibaldi in heroic attitudes, planting the tricolor at Marsala after disembarking (fig. 10) or leading the Garabaldini in a charge against superior numbers. Fattori's picture, however, eliminates all taint of romanticism and melodrama. A battle is in progress, as the Garibaldini attempt to break through the barricade set up by the Neapolitan troops in front of the Porta Nuova next to the Palazzo Reale. Garibaldi himself, accompanied by his officers Nino Bixio and Stefan Türr, is shown observing the scene calmly on horseback. This despite the fact that fierce fighting took place on the Via Toledo leading northward to the Porta Nuova, and that Neapolitan warships shelled the area into ruins. One of Garibaldi's Thousand recalled later, in connection with another encounter with the enemy, how his leader sat "on a horse, wonderfully cool and collected." While Fattori's painting shows us the poised general, it reveals him neither as an invincible hero nor as a Quixote-like adventurer. Thus, even at the peak of Risorgimento glory, the painter imposes on his work the character of understatement.

Perhaps even more astonishing, Fattori dared to depict Garibaldi wounded and humiliated at Aspromonte on August 29, 1862, a victim of the evolving political intrigues of Vittorio Emanuele and Cavour (fig. 11). Garibaldi was en route from Sicily to Rome with a

Fig. 10 — Lithograph of Garibaldi and his army arriving at Marsala, 1860
Fig. 11 — Giovanni Fattori, *Garibaldi at Aspromonte*



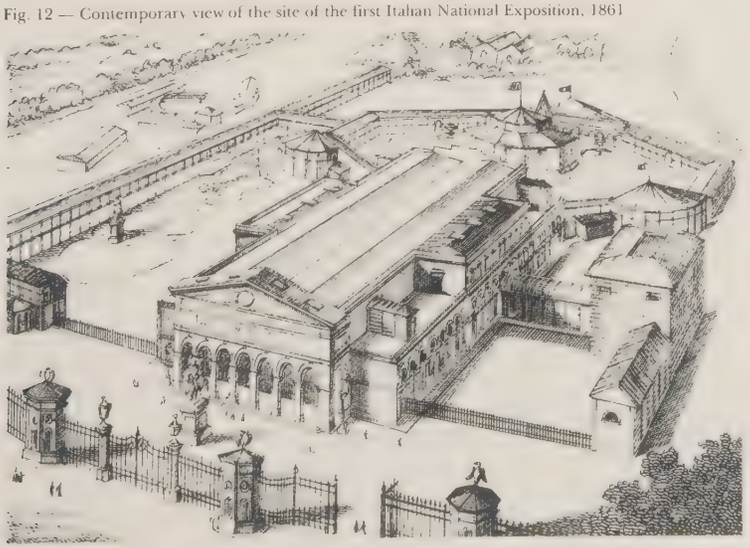
new group of volunteers when the Piedmontese government, concerned about the reaction of European powers, ordered several battalions of *bersaglieri* to stop Garibaldi and to destroy him if he offered battle. Although Garibaldi had an advantageous position when the *bersaglieri* were spotted, he would not consider firing on other Italians and ordered his troops to hold their positions. As soon as they were within range, however, the *bersaglieri* opened fire. In the exchange that followed Garibaldi was hit twice, in the thigh and the left foot. Some of his men rushed forward, picked him up, carried him back through the lines, and set him on the ground with his back against a tree. It was an incident that disgusted most Italians and damaged the government's cause with many foreigners as well. Everywhere sympathy was mainly on Garibaldi's side; ultimately the government refused to prosecute him, but it never regained the respect it had lost in this affair. The episode was another disillusioning moment for the radicals and liberals. And so it seems perfectly appropriate for Fattori to depict Garibaldi gazing at the viewer in mingled pain and bewilderment, while several of his men support him and bandage his foot. Here, again, Fattori demonstrates his typical, and remarkable, commitment to restraint and realism.

## THE FIRST ITALIAN NATIONAL EXPOSITION OF 1861

Several of the paintings done for the Ricasoli contest, including Fattori's still-unfinished *Magenta,* were exhibited at the landmark Esposizione Nazionale which opened to the public in Florence in September 1861 (fig. 12).[52] This show was an event of major importance for the Macchiaioli, most of whom were represented in it. The exposition left a long-lasting mark on Italian, and especially Florentine culture. A milestone in the history of the Risorgimento, it was already planned in the summer of 1860, before the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed and before Sicily had been incorporated legally into the Piedmontese state.

Its organizers saw the exposition as an opportunity for a cultural attack on Austria and those countries which persisted in keeping Italy divided. Primarily, however, they viewed it as a means of helping to overcome the isolation of the individual provinces and to pull the disparate regions together economically and culturally. Indeed, the need to combat separateness was the exposition's unifying theme and explains why it played such a crucial role in the history of the Risorgimento. The prominent exposure of the nascent Macchiaioli in the exposition proved vital to their careers, demonstrating not only their strong support of Risorgimento ideals but also their social proximity to the emerging ruling elite. Macchiaioli patronage essentially derived from the new political and social alliance so brilliantly represented in the 1861 industrial and artistic show.

Fig. 12 — Contemporary view of the site of the first Italian National Exposition, 1861



Vittorio Emanuele and Cavour wanted to persuade their domestic and foreign critics that they had in mind not just the expansion of the Piedmontese state but also the interests of the new nation of Italy. They felt that a major exposition on the order of those in London in 1851 and Paris in 1855, but confined primarily to the peninsula, would have the effect of binding the dominant groups into a psychological whole. By 1861, as Denis Mack Smith has noted elsewhere,[53] a professional and business segment, allied with a new middle class of landed gentry, broke up the traditional power of the landowning aristocracy allied with the Catholic church. This group enthusiastically supported the Risorgimento because they recognized that nationalism and liberalism would promote their prosperity. The elimination of protectionism and restrictions imposed by the occupying powers, as well as the chance to appropriate confiscated Church domains in a cheap market, had obvious appeal. The new dominant group was well represented in the National Exposition, and it was really for them that the show was organized.[54]

The immediate inspiration for the show was the Tuscan triennial exhibition initiated in 1839 by Leopoldo II.[55] Organized in the Palazzo Vecchio during the festivities of San Giovanni, it had been devoted to the arts and manufactures of Tuscany. The Provisional Government announced a new exhibition on March 10, 1860, but a national decree July 8 nullified the earlier edict and expanded the show into a pan-Italian exposition. The Georgofili members were given pride of place, with the organization's president, Marchese Cosimo Ridolfi, appointed as secretary, second in nominal authority only to the honorary president, Prince Eugenio Carignano of Savoy. Although members of the commission included some of the peninsula's most prominent industrialists, agriculturalists, and academicians, Tuscans filled the dominant positions.

The inaugural address, delivered by Prince Eugenio on August 20, 1861, emphasized the exposition's relationship to the major military and political events of the Risorgimento. After demonstrating its military valor in actual combat and its political capacity in the parliamentary domain, the Kingdom of Italy was ready to present a pacific expression of strength and capacity by exhibiting the products of its national labor and its artistic genius. Taking his cue from the previous English and French international exhibitions, the prince emphasized that this show would increase the credit of the new state, project a sense of unity and newfound prosperity, and stimulate industry and the arts. Vittorio Emanuele seconded these remarks when he opened "la prima Esposizione Nazionale Italiana" on September 15, and promised to preserve the traditional Italian genius for art and science during his reign.

The exposition's publicists compared it favorably, and doggedly,

with those of London and Paris. The combination of science and industry and fine and applied arts was meant to demonstrate that economic progress and artistic progress develop in tandem. Prominent exposure was given to the effigies of the Physiocrat Sallustio Bandini and Richard Cobden (1804-1865), the hero of Italian free traders. The organizers loudly proclaimed the virtues of capitalism, the division of labor, the construction of machinery, the application of steam as motive power, and improved means of communication.

Francesco Protonotari, an economist and law professor who edited the exposition catalogue, noted in that publication that in the art categories of genre and especially landscape painting, *il realismo* (originating in France) predominated. He suggested that, provided its representatives preserved traditional refinement, realism had the potential of rejuvenating the national art. He further observed that an intimate connection existed between the life of a nation and its art, offering medieval Italy and Holland as examples. He frankly assessed Italy's backward industrial situation, and insisted that it could become great once again through a concord of modern economic and aesthetic principles.[56] This theme was also taken up by Francesco Carega, Secretary-General of the Royal Commission, whose "Circular to the Academies and Institutes of Fine Arts" of June 6 stated that the "flourishing or decadence of the fine arts in Italy has always reflected the life of the country."[57] The issue of realism recurred in the "Report on the Fine Arts," which connected Risorgimento culture with the then-widespread preoccupation with positivism and defined the new trend as "a study of reality in all its forms, in all its effects of tones and light which is presented to the glance." The report claimed that the new realists were adopting every means to capture "the immediate sensation of the visual fact, rather than its image" and further suggested that the tendency to emphasize the light effect and vivacious light and dark contrasts constituted "the innovative part of the arts" during the critical time of transition.[58]

That the exposition proved to be a watershed event in the history of the Macchiaioli group is indicated in part by the successes that many of its members, and other artists close to the group, enjoyed there. Vito D'Ancona and Giuseppe Abbati, both Macchiaioli, and Angiolo Tricca (for lithography), Antonio Puccinelli, Saverio Altamura, and Antonio Rivalta (for sculpture) all won medals for their entries; while others in the group, such as Borrani, Cabianca, and Signorini, although not prizewinners, certainly reaped popular esteem. It is not surprising to learn that almost every winning entry was cited in official exposition documents for its treatment of light. D'Ancona's *Incontro di Dante con Beatrice (Meeting of Dante and Beatrice)* (c. 1859-60) was praised for its "very beautiful effect of light in the sky and in the background generally." Perhaps surprisingly, Carlo Ferrari's *Piazza Navona* (c. 1860) (a non-Macchiaioli example) was cited specifically for its "great liveliness in the *macchiette*" (little touches).[59]

The Macchiaioli presented a mixture of historical and modern subjects, all of which shared an emphasis on the glorification of Florentine history, past and present. Works directly inspired by the Risorgimento, such as Fattori's unfinished *After the Battle of Magenta,* and the non-Macchiaioli *Episodio della guerra del '59 (Episode of the War of '59)* (c. 1860) by Rivalta, were hung with paintings of more conventional and traditional themes by academic painters, such as Alfonso Chierici's *Madonna col Bambino e due Santi (Madonna with Child and Two Saints)* (n.d.) and Luis Alvarez's *Sogno di Calpurnia, moglie di Cesare (Dream of Calpurnia, Caesar's Wife)* (n.d.), which demonstrated to the public the innovations of the new tendencies.[60]

The Macchiaioli painters exhibited twenty-two paintings in the 1861 exposition, all painted between 1859 and 1861, five of which represented Risorgimento themes. These included Borrani's *Il 26 aprile 1859 (The 26th of April 1859),* Signorini's *La cacciata degli Austriaci da Solferino (The Expulsion of the Austrians from Solferino),* Lega's *Una imboscata di bersaglieri Italiani: Episodio della guerra del 1859 (An Ambush by Italian Bersaglieri: Episode of the War of 1859),* and Fattori's *Una recognizione militare (A Military Reconnaissance),* and *Magenta.* The remaining works were history paintings, such as D'Ancona's *Dante and Beatrice* and Cabianca's *I novellieri Fiorentini del secolo XIV (Florentine Novella Writers of the 14th Century),* and a variety of genre and landscape canvases, such as Borrani's *Mietitura del grano nelle montagne di S. Marcello (Grain Harvest in the Mountains of San Marcello)* and Cabianca's *Una ferriera nella Versiglia (An Ironworks in Versiglia).* Five out of twenty-two is a significant number of Risorgimento-oriented works, yet not included in that tally are the additional Risorgimento themes the exposition organizers encouraged painters such as Borrani, Signorini, and Lega to do but which for one reason or another did not get into the show. Moreover, with only two exceptions, all the landscape and history subjects had Tuscan, or specifically Florentine backdrops. Thus even when the entries lacked explicit Risorgimento references, they expressed a patriotic-national sensibility. Indeed, themes such as Borrani's *Grain Harvest* and Cabianca's *Ironworks* were made to order for the agricultural and industrial content of the exposition. Borrani included in the entry listings of his landscapes explanatory comments which alluded to the paintings' basis in observed reality. The *Grain Harvest* he described as a "motivo dal vero," and another taken from a nearby site he called a "paesaggio dal vero." This suggests that his large picture was completed in the studio after a *macchia* sketch, and that the second painting was done on the spot, directly from nature. While the inclusion of this descriptive phrase could be found earlier in the Promotrice salons and was used regularly by Serafino De Tivoli, it points to the legitimation of the Macchiaioli experiments at the 1861 exposition.

The complexities of the 1861 art displays are exemplified in the two most popular works: Stefano Ussi's (1822-1901) *La cacciata del duca d'Atene (The Expulsion of the Duke of Athens)* (fig. 13) and Borrani's *The 26th of April 1859* (cat. no. 13). The first was the official favorite, the second a popular success. Both in their own ways express the welling of nationalism between 1859 and 1861. While done in diametrically opposing styles — Ussi's embodying the most advanced academic style and Borrani's the most experimental and independent — both reflect the thought of progressive minds dedicated to the Risorgimento ideal. As a member of the Fratellanza Artigiana, Dolfi's mutual aid society for artisans, which contained some of the most radical elements of Florentine society in those years, Ussi was perhaps the more revolutionary of the two; but Borrani was no less committed to the national cause. He was on close terms with Dolfi, whose portrait he drew, and it is certain that his ironic title *The 26th of April 1859* — the day before the revolution — points to his foreknowledge of the plot spun by Dolfi and his colleagues. In 1859, together with

Signorini, Cecioni, and Martelli, he enlisted in the Tuscan artillery.

Both Borrani's and Ussi's paintings were purchased by the state. Ussi's, executed between 1859 and 1861, was subsidized by popular subscription and entered into the collections of the Tuscan government, while Borrani's was purchased by Prince Eugenio Carignano. The two paintings therefore reflected the moderate liberal ideology that motivated the exposition. Although Ussi's theme did not figure in the Ricasoli competitions, the government decided to exhibit it still unfinished, with the sketch entries of the contestants, in April 1860.[61] This shows that the government wanted to capitalize on the work's propaganda appeal and thus reinforce the ideology of the competitions. The monumental work (twelve by eight feet) was the hit of the Ricasoli exhibition as well as of the exposition of 1861.

Ussi's picture drew upon the Florentine Renaissance chronicles of Giovanni Villani, published in 1348, to depict one of the most spectacular episodes in Florentine history, the rise and fall of the foreign tyrant Walter de Brienne. In March 1342, after defeat by the Pisans, the Florentines cashiered their captain-general and replaced him with the Frenchman Brienne, who called himself the "Duke of Athens." He lost no time in asserting his authority by eliminating potential rivals and political opponents. During his tenure of ten months and eighteen days, he plundered Florence of moneys and inaugurated a reign of terror. While Brienne cleverly played one class off against another, hatred for the tryant in the end induced the citizens to unite against him.

The insurrection began the morning of July 26, 1343, when the population barricaded the principal streets and all the entrances to the Piazza della Signoria, then as now the heart of the city. The duke attempted to make some concessions, but it was clear that the populace wanted him to step down. Finally, the majority of citizens agreed to allow him to go free if he would renounce all title and pretension to Florentine rule and would deliver to them the three most repugnant members of his government. He at first refused but was ultimately persuaded to concede by his soldiers, who threatened to take matters into their own hands.

Ussi chose this moment of final hesitation for his painting and carefully reconstructed the episode using Villani's description. His scene is set in the hall of the Palazzo Vecchio; through its lofty windows the towers of old Florence rise up into the pale-blue summer sky. They form the backdrop for the unseen crowd below, which was kept informed on the progress of the negotiations and which maintained pressure on their antagonist. In the center sits the immobile duke, his left hand pressed tensely on the paper he is about to sign yet still calculating the possibilities of retaining his power.

Fig. 13 — Stefano Ussi, *Expulsion of the Duke of Athens*

Brienne etched himself deep into the collective Florentine memory. It is no coincidence that Ricasoli, as part of his propaganda campaign, continually referred to the duke of Athens in his addresses. In his address to the National Guard of Florence in November 1859, he alluded to the tryant's overthrow in the context of an appeal for vigilance:

> Throng around this holy banner, this banner of your country, this symbol of your redemption, which recalls to you the blood shed by the brave Piedmontese in a hundred battles, and reminds you of the glory of our king . . . . Now turn your eyes to yonder city, and to the hills that surround it. Every monument, every spot recalls some glorious deed of its citizens . . . . *From that city the Duke of Athens was driven ignominiously forth* . . . . Think over these feats of old, and prepare to imitate them by deeds of prudence and of peace . . . . or, if need be, by deeds of daring and of war.[62]

This back-and-forth confounding of glorious past and glorious present gave a contemporary meaning to Ussi's work, despite its ancient costumes and subject.

There could be no doubt in anyone's mind about the parallels between July 26, 1343, and April 27, 1859. The relative restraint of the populace, their single-mindedness and unity, their sustained show of strength in the Piazza della Signoria, and Brienne's peaceful expulsion made the theme of the duke of Athens an excellent stand-in for the ejection of Grand Duke Leopoldo II of the House of Lorraine.

Borrani's *The 26th of April 1859* was a much more modest picture, and it won no honors at the exposition. But judging from the critical response and the fact that Prince Carignano purchased it, we know that it enjoyed the public's esteem. It is perhaps one of the most important examples of a finished *macchia* which retains the effect and mood of the original study. Borrani searches for strong light and dark contrasts — the narrow window opening onto the gloomy room and the sunlight falling on the bloused white sleeves of the seamstress. One critic observed that it symbolized "all the easygoing and venerable Giusti-like qualities of our revolution," and gave the following vivid description:

> In a small attic-room you admire a darling young woman, who is seated on an armchair intent on threading a needle in order to sew a tricolor flag: Her gracious figure, the simplicity and the exquisite taste of her clothing, the work table, another completed flag [sic], a window through which is perceived a neighboring roof below, are so masterfully illuminated that the surface of the canvas disappears, and in its place we see a lovely stereoscopic view.[63]

There are several revealing features of this passage which help us put the painting into its proper historical context. It confirms the visual evidence that the woman is working in a hidden nook of the building and concealed from prying eyes. She is part of the conspiracy that will disclose itself on the morrow, in the full light of day.

Secondly, the remarks on her person and costume indicate that she is of the upper classes, further confirmed by the Renaissance chair on which she sits. Hence she belongs to the inside circle of the conspirators — Giuseppe Dolfi, Ermolao Rubieri, and Piero Cironi.

Despite his Mazzinian working-class sympathies, Dolfi's plea for annexation and his major role in organizing the 1861 exposition demonstrate his affiliation with that upwardly mobile class which was in the process of wresting power from the old ruling alliance. Thus it was in Dolfi's villa on April 26 that plans for the overthrow of Leopoldo II were laid and the green light was given for the massive demonstration that took place on the following day.[64] As we have seen, Dolfi was an intimate of several of the Macchiaioli and their friends. Fattori dedicated his painting of a scene from Guerrazzi's novel *The Siege of Florence* to him, and Borrani sketched his portrait. Dolfi was a combination baker-entrepreneur, a wealthy merchant who supplied the best restaurants and catered to the military.[65] His support of the Macchiaioli facilitated their entry into the exposition of 1861. He helped organize it and was appointed to serve on the jury of the section on food and hygiene, as well as to oversee some of the key displays.[66]

The whole of the city's population poured into the streets early on the morning of April twenty-seventh. Significantly, the signal and rallying point everywhere was the tricolor flag. It was first hoisted on the walls of the Medici fortress in the northern part of the city known as the Fortezza da Basso and next in the nearby Piazza Barbano (later Piazza dell'Indipendenza). Throngs waited everywhere to see the tricolor raised, signaling the overthrow of the foreign tyrant.

The banners and flags which proliferated in the ensuing days were sewn and embroidered by women, an act which in a sense announced a rejuvenation of their traditional role by putting their domestic skill to work for the revolution. Nevertheless, Borrani's female protagonist moves beyond the stereotyped role; she is privy to the revolutionary scheme and participates as one of the plotters. Her environment is not the typical domestic foyer but a concealed corner of an old Florentine building inhabited by the wealthier classes, and is identified with the Renaissance past through such accessories as the chair and the halberd draped with tricolor ribbons which leans against the wall. A combination ax and pike, the halberd was a weapon used mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, thus connecting present and past militancy. In this way, although coming from a modern perspective, Borrani's picture partakes of the same historical mind-set we see in Ussi's. Finally, Borrani's Italian Betsy Ross is a strong, unsentimentalized presence which adds a feminist note to both the Risorgimento and to Macchiaioli painting, an issue to be elaborated on presently.

## THE MACCHIAIOLI AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The critic of *La Nuova Europa* mentioned that Borrani's handling of light made the canvas disappear and leave in its place a stereoscopic view, implying in this instance photographic illusionism. Borrani was, like most of his colleagues, fascinated with photography and used old photographs and their tonal values as the basis for some of his paintings.[67] One photograph was doctored by him to serve as the foundation of a study for a painting. Nancy Troyer's dissertation discusses the impact of photography on the Macchiaioli, emphasizing the role of Signorini, who himself admitted a close relationship between the *macchia* and the new medium.[68] That it should be in everyone's mind at the time of the 1861 exposition is no coincidence; photography was given a place of honor in the show but under the class of "Chemistry" rather than that of "Drawing, Painting, Engraving and Lithography." As a result, its importance in Tuscan art generally at this time has tended to be obscured.

The section on photography emphasized the popularity and pervasiveness of the art. In addition to the work of the Alinari brothers, Leopoldo and Vittorio, the catalogue noted the importance of the Società Fotografica Toscana, directed by Pietro Semplicini of Florence, which distinguished itself "by the accuracy and clarity of [its] stereoscopic views," as well with its fine photographic reproductions of old master paintings.[69] The critic Pietro Selvatico, who served on one of the committees of the exposition, had written in 1852 on photography's importance as a scientific base for the visual arts. He claimed that mediocrity resulted from want of science and claimed that the work of Daguerre and Talbot would excite the artist's creative capacity and prove indispensable to the artist's education. Photography would help reaffirm the diligent observation of nature and convey the effect of immediacy. It would not replace invention but would serve as a stimulus to artistic inspiration.[70]

Almost all the Macchiaioli shared this interest, and while documentation for it remains slight, it is hinted at in such unexpected finds as Abbati's charge to Martelli to pick up examples of the work of the French photographer Nadar.[71] When we recall that the painters thought of their experiments as "scientific," we may conclude that the *macchia* was not just a concept that they plagiarized from the past or from the Barbizon school but an attempt to establish a basic principle compatible with the industrial and economic ideals incarnated in the 1861 exposition.

The relationship between the *macchia* and photography centered on their association with the "effect." At that time, "effect" implied the arrangement of the chiaroscuro or pattern of lights and darks, with coloration taking a subordinate role. The moderns of the French and Italian schools analyzed the pattern into discrete areas, eliminating as much as possible the transitional halftones. Martelli's description of Manet's painting as the "macchia larga" is related to this flat visual arrangement which resulted from concentration on a limited series of tonal values. It is clear that artists seeking the most succinct analysis of light and shade would find in photography a wonderful tool and model. For the Macchiaioli, however, it was a question not of reproducing the exact appearance of nature but of capturing the effects which governed its moods; these moods guaranteed the painters' sincerity and hence their national identity — a disposition Borrani exploits to great advantage in *The 26th of April 1859*.

It is noteworthy that some of the competition pictures in this show were unfinished. No self-respecting French painter or Salon jury member would let pass a "quadro non terminato," but this was not a problem for Italians in 1861. Although the official line held that a *bozzetto* was an embryonic picture that had "yet to take life," the entries of the 1859 Ricasoli contest were assessed on the basis of such compositional sketches.[72] The judges of the exposition entries, both

academicians and administrative officials, evidently felt comfortable with incomplete pictures that still displayed the promise of outstanding work. Like Italian academies generally, the Florentine Accademia di Belle Arti had several types of sketch exercises for students, including a "bozzetto a olio d'invenzione" and the more informal "mezzamacchia" which was mainly a drawing exercise in two tones, one for light and the other for shadow areas. Although traditionally the qualities of spontaneity and succinct effect were admired in sketches, academicians believed that the full gifts of a painter came through only in noble, that is, highly polished work. Nevertheless, it is clear that during the Risorgimento more liberty was permitted in this regard and the rules relaxed to accommodate the new trends.

Despite all the noise about the controversy provoked by the Macchiaioli, it is clear that there was a conscious attempt on the part of their contemporaries to understand their innovations in the context of political and social developments. This in turn generated a more favorable climate for their experiments than existed elsewhere, where the process of "*fini*" (finish) was still fetishized like a holy ritual. Here again we see how it was possible for the Macchiaioli to identify with a word that implied technique and process, an identification not possible in France or anywhere else at that moment.

## PATRONS

By the time of the 1861 exposition the Macchiaioli enjoyed a substantial body of patrons drawn from the liberal noble and middle classes.[73] The close connection between the ideals of the organizers of the exposition and those of the Macchiaioli is evident from the fact that the participants in the fair were also their patrons. Perhaps the most direct link is seen in the case of Vito D'Ancona, whose brothers Sansone and Cesare and his uncle Laudadio Della Ripa all figured prominently in the exposition.[74] The D'Anconas in particular played major roles in the organization of the show and in its public relations. Sansone, Vito's older brother, was named to its chamber of agriculture, industry, and commerce and served on several juries, while Cesare, a botanist and geologist, served as a judge for the class of floriculture and horticulture. Cesare also directed the major publicity organ of the exposition, the biweekly newspaper *La Esposizione Italiana del 1861,* which reported on the various sections within current scientific, industrial, commercial, and political contexts. Finally, Laudadio won special recognition for the exhibit of remarkable olive oil — "olio giallo-chiaro" — produced on his farms.

The D'Anconas represented in microcosm the new breed for whom the Risorgimento was a vital, living development. An educated, prosperous middle class connected with trade, gentleman farming, science, and art, they were also moderate liberals who supported unification with Piedmont. They were descendants of Sephardic Jews invited to Italy by Italian princes after 1492, when the Inquisition shattered the thriving Jewish community in Spain and dispersed its survivors to various European refuges. The Italian rulers welcomed them to ports such as Pesaro and Leghorn with the hope of promoting those stagnant towns into dynamic trading centers which could rival Genoa.

The parents of the D'Anconas, Giuseppe and Ester, married and settled in Pesaro in 1813, and a year later Sansone was born.[75] Giuseppe was a well-to-do merchant in sugar and grains who lost his fortune after Napoleon's defeat and the return of Pope Leo XII to power. The new regime treated Jews repressively, and so eventually the D'Anconas made their way to Pisa, where the ruler was liberal and the university open to Jews. Giuseppe never fully recovered from his displacement and suffered thereafter from a nervous debilitation; Ester's brother Laudadio began helping her raise her sons.

Laudadio, who left Pesaro for Florence in 1827, fared much better than his brother-in-law. He opened a successful bank, extended credit for investment, and traded in grain, hay, and straw hats — one of Florence's most important manufactures in the nineteenth century. He participated in the liberal Florentine movement, established close contact with the circle of Vieusseux and the Georgofili, and became actively engaged in agrarian developments. Eventually, he purchased an estate at Vologhano overlooking the village of Pontassieve at the confluence of the Sieve and Arno rivers, where he ran a major farm complex and gained a wide reputation for his pure olive oil. Vito D'Ancona's painting of the estate endows it with the clear light and brilliant color of the *macchia,* putting these qualities to the service of his powerful guardian-patron (cat. no. 133).

Laudadio's support was fundamental to the careers of his nephews. He introduced Cesare to plants on his estate, Vito to his Renaissance art collection, and Sansone to banking procedures. His business and social connections with progressive scions of the old nobility facilitated their early successes. Politically, the entire family supported Piedmont beginning in 1848, and they were closely aligned with the Ricasoli government in 1859. Alessandro D'Ancona, the youngest of the brothers, devoted his literary talents to the cause of unification. He worked in Turin between 1854 and 1859, serving as mediator between Cavour and the moderate parties of Piedmont and Tuscany, and subsequently edited Ricasoli's newspaper *La Nazione.* Sansone, an expert in finance, was one of Ricasoli's closest advisers and was appointed director of finance and public works in the Provisional Government. He was one of three Jews who sat in the parliament of the new united Italy, voting consistently with Cavour's party. Cesare cofounded the Italian Botanical Society and belonged to the Georgofili and the national geological and geographical societies. Each of the brothers embodied an aspect of the new cultural, scientific, and economic forces which sought development and progress in a new Italy and which expressed themselves so forcefully in the exposition of 1861.

### FATTORI AND HIS PATRONS

Yet another striking example of the connection between the major industrial and commercial participants in the 1861 exposition and the Macchiaioli was the subsequent subsidizing of two of Fattori's paintings through subscriptions organized by a group of prominent Leghorn businessmen and industrialists.[76] The national government, now based in Florence, decreed a competition in July 1866 for original works in any category to be exhibited at the Accademia in May 1868. According to Fattori, an association of Leghorn's leading citizens stepped forward with the offer to open a subscription to subsidize Fattori's entry, *L'Assalto alla Madonna della Scoperta (The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta)* (c. 1866) (cat. no. 24) and later persuaded the

Leghorn city council to purchase it.[77]

These prominent citizens were undoubtedly the same patrons who funded his earlier *Carica di Cavalleria a Montebello (Cavalry Charge at Montebello)* (1862), in hopes of stimulating a native of their town to move to the forefront of the new national culture. The group included Giovanni Santoponte, who manufactured objects of coral; Gustavo Corridi, an industrial and pharmaceutical chemist; and Gustavo's brother Pasquale, who produced fine marquetry and inlaid furniture. All three won medals for their displays at the 1861 exposition.[78] Another member of Fattori's original support group was Adriano Lemmi, a railroad magnate who managed to receive from Garibaldi during his dictatorship in Sicily the concession for a railway line in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Garibaldi himself was initially attracted to the Risorgimento ideal because of trade restrictions imposed by peninsular divisions in his own entrepreneurial ventures and favored commercial and industrial expansion. In the partnership of Garibaldi and Lemmi we see the close connections among the new middle-class power, the Risorgimento, and the taste for Macchiaioli realism.

Fattori's subject could not have been better timed. His original title for this painting, *Un episodio della Battaglia di San Martino, movimento diretto da S.E. il generale Lamarmora presso la Madonna della Scoperta (An Episode of the Battle of San Martino: Movement Directed by His Excellency General La Marmora near Madonna della Scoperta),* referred to the one engagement the Piedmontese troops won against Austrian troops in 1859.[79] San Martino and Madonna della Scoperta were small villages a few miles north of Solferino just east of the Mincio River, which divides Lombardy from the Veneto. Early on June 24 (the same day as the battle of Solferino), the Piedmontese stumbled into a surprise encounter with their enemy. The two sides fought indecisively for several hours as a confused Vittorio Emanuele, directing his forces from some miles away, found himself unable to concentrate them and bring the battle under control. Only in the afternoon, after the French had won at Solferino, did he conclude that it was vital that the Piedmontese share the victory. He ordered General Alfonso La Marmora to take command of the various divisions and brigades for a final attack on San Martino. La Marmora rushed to the combat zone to reorganize the troops but left the actual direction for the charge to the officer in the field, General Giovanni Durando. Late in the afternoon, after an initial setback, San Martino was captured, and the king and the Piedmontese, with the help of the propagandists, won their place in military history.

Fattori depicts the moment when La Marmora, shown on horseback in the middle distance facing left, assembles the various divisions at a point halfway between Madonna della Scoperta and San Martino; the latter is identified only by the small Romanesque church on the horizon at the right. Typically, Fattori avoids a heroic clash or death-defying assaults. He shows a transitional moment when there is still some disorder in the ranks and the outcome is not assured. Fattori's landscape, persuasive even today, was carefully reconstructed from direct observation of the topography. His knowledge of the battle was derived from eyewitness reports and photographs. The immediacy of the action is sustained by the movement of the troops and horses. Fattori's *macchia* aesthetic enables us almost to hear the horses whinnying, the officers shouting commands, the hoofbeats, and the scuffling of the foot soldiers.

At the same time, his scene shows the preparations for the second phase of the assault on San Martino, the one that resulted in victory for the Piedmontese. The first phase was condemned to failure by the disorganization and impulsiveness of some officers who wanted to achieve individual distinction. The second phase, engineered by General Durando, the real hero of the day, gained widespread publicity in Italy because it succeeded in unifying all the Italian divisions. Thus Fattori chose a moment when military unity was forming, a moment which could serve as a metaphor for the evolving unity of the new nation-state.

Fattori's painting was done at a propitious time; in June 1866, La Marmora and the Piedmontese troops were routed by vastly inferior Austrian forces at the Battle of Custoza. It was a humiliating episode in the war of that year, which saw Italy allied with Prussia against the Austrians. This catastrophe, in which Italy's military weakness was shockingly revealed, was a tremendous psychological defeat for the entire country. Clearly the government-sponsored competition, out of which Fattori's final canvas, *The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta,* issued, was meant to distract the public from the social and political consequences of the disaster. By recalling an earlier, successful engagement against the Austrians, Fattori's painting both blunted the pain of the moment and served as grist for the national propaganda machine. While Fattori himself may have been unconscious of all the forces shaping ideas and events in those years, he eagerly contributed his talents to Risorgimento politics.

## AGRARIAN REFORMERS AND THE LAND

If Fattori's military pictures incarnated the aspirations and ideals of the townsfolk and urban rich, his rustic landscapes reflected the ideals of the landed proprietors and country gentlemen who joined forces with them in appropriating the Risorgimento. The countryside was the most neglected aspect of this political movement. In particular, the peasantry was kept little informed about its political progress yet in the end was forced to shoulder the bulk of its expenses. The Macchiaioli painters' frequent depiction of the olive groves, the vines, the farmhouses, and villas of the Tuscan countryside inevitably embraced a broad range of rural social relations. When Fattori, for example, depicted the *Contadina nel bosco (Peasant Woman in the Woods)* (1861) (cat. no. 59), he presented a glimpse of agrarian labor governed by a type of land tenure peculiar to Tuscany. This fundamental institution of Tuscan rural society — the sharecropping system known as *mezzadria* — was brought into national focus both by the emphasis placed on the agrarian economy by the exposition of 1861 and by the paintings of the Macchiaioli.

### MEZZADRIA

The primary patron and theorist sustaining the Macchiaioli was Diego Martelli, who himself was a major landlord and supporter of this farming system. Many of the Macchiaioli painters became intimately familiar with rural organization during their frequent and extended visits to Castiglioncello, the Martelli family's vast estate in the Maremma countryside.

Martelli used his property as a meeting ground for his artist

friends, inviting them to paint and live there during part of the year. The number of works generated as a result of this hospitality was sufficient to give them a collective title, the "Castiglioncello school." These paintings most often depict the villa, the grounds, the *case coloniche* (peasant dwellings) of the *mezzadri*, and the *mezzadri* themselves at work in the fields. In this sense, the paintings from the Castiglioncello period can be said to have derived their basic inspiration from the *mezzadria* system. The painters glorified the environment and holdings of a major landed proprietor. Although Martelli was not a good business manager and exhausted much of his capital on radical political causes, he nonetheless exemplified the Tuscan country gentleman who upheld the *mezzadria* system.

Under the traditional *mezzadria* pattern, the property of the landlord was divided into one or more estates.[80] An estate was known as a *fattoria*, a single administrative unit subdivided into a series of peasant farms called *poderi*. The *fattoria* was the center of administrative control, usually run by the agent of the proprietor, or *fattore*, while the *poderi* were the units of actual cultivation. The working of the land was governed by a contract between the landlord and the *mezzadro* (peasant tenant) under a form of partnership. In principle, the landlord furnished the land and the *mezzadro* the labor, while all the produce and expenses of cultivation were divided equally. The proprietor's share of the crop was either consumed in whole or in part, or sold for profit; the peasant's share was his only source of subsistence.

On the face of it nothing seems to have been fairer, and in fact the official view of the traditional Tuscan contract — a view which dominated the discussions of the Accademia dei Georgofili, the agrarian and economic society which represented the landlords' interests — held that the *mezzadria* system constituted a sort of social utopia. They pointed out that in industry and in the northern countryside, where wage labor prevailed, there was continual class conflict and constant threat to the social order. Not so in Tuscany, however, where peasant and landlord were equal partners united by a common interest in the greatest productivity of the soil. The increase of either party meant the benefit of both. These arguments continued right through the century, sometimes sounding like the defense of the slavery system in the southern United States: "The contract of *mezzadria* . . . makes the peasant happy, honest and at ease."[81]

In fact, the *mezzadria* partnership was unequal and favored the landlord. The landlord could prescribe what crops were to be grown and how they should be cultivated. The landlord held the power in the form of the ownership of the means of production — the land, the peasant dwelling, the seed, the fodder, the tools and machinery of cultivation, and the work animals — and could evict without notice. The *mezzadri* possessed only their labor power and perhaps a few simple tools and one or two animals. In addition, old feudal regulations remained: the *mezzadri* were bound to render special services to the lord of the estate beyond the division of the produce. The lord could exercise the right to regulate their private lives, even giving or denying permission to marry.

The relationship was also unequal in terms of economic power. For the tenant it was question of survival, for the owner it was one of profit. The landlord could exploit his end to fuller advantage by increasing the intensity of cultivation in smaller and smaller units down to the minimum for the tenant's subsistence. Regardless of size of tract, however, the peasant's subsistence needs went unchanged, and since the *mezzadro* and his family gave their labor in circumstances unregulated by stipulated hours and wages, child labor laws, and legal holidays, there was no end to their exploitation. If the tenant fell behind in his annual accounting, the landlord could extract even greater advantage by hiring the *mezzadro* at wage rates well below those earned by day laborers, thus securing cheap year-round labor for the estate.

It was the ability to intensify labor that kept the *mezzadria* system going in the face of competition from more rationalized systems of agriculture. It was the tenants' cheap and unrelenting toil that maintained the system. Recent studies of the *mezzadria* system show that the sharecroppers' remuneration was lower than that of any category of industrial worker. In addition, the *mezzadri* received no benefits and little charity except in occasional cases when the owner provided for a doctor, provided periodic gifts, or underwrote the expenses of festivals.

The *mezzadria* system was best adapted to an environment such as that of Tuscany, where the geological facts — a predominance of hills and mountains and thin rocky topsoil — made investment relatively risky and created problems for agricultural machinery. It was especially suited to the cultivation of crops which, like the Tuscan olive groves and vineyards, required close attention throughout the year. Fattori's *Contadina al campo (Peasant Woman in the Field)* (c. 1867) (cat. no. 92) unites the farm workers formally with the foreground plane, which emphasizes her rapt concentration and back-breaking labor. Signorini was fascinated by the dense olive groves at Settignano, and one of his studies integrates a young peasant woman with the trees as if to demonstrate an intimate relation with her surroundings. *Mezzadria* was bound up with the mode of agriculture known as *coltura promiscua* (mixed cultivation), in which fields of wheat or maize were interspersed with rows of vines, olives, or fruit trees. While denounced as economically irrational because of low yields, it did allow the peasant some measure of self-sufficiency and helped spread the risks of a bad year. One perspective on *coltura promiscua* is given in Lega's *Paese con contadini (Landscape with Peasants)* (c. 1871) (cat. no. 144), in which peasants walk in fields of sheaved grain with the inevitable conical haystack *(pagliaio)*, while carrying on their backs large wicker baskets for the gathering of fruits and vegetables.

The Georgofili always stressed the social harmony of the system, and while the class differences of the partners, and a history of guerrilla warfare in the form of theft, fraud, poaching, barn-burning, and machine-breaking seems to contradict the claim, it is true that the Tuscan peasantry remained more or less docile throughout the century. The landlord's paternalism and actual presence on the property mitigated the impulse to rebellion, and the fact that several generations of the same family often occupied the same *podere* tied the *mezzadri* to the land as if it were their own. The *mezzadro*'s sense of independence was reinforced by the somewhat removed character of the landlord's control. The tenant lived in a separate dwelling, isolated even from other tenants of the same estate. Rarely did the peasant meet with intervention from the landlord, giving the system an impersonality which made disaster seem like a providential act rather than one attributable to the landowner's economics. Although eviction was always a possibility, it was seldom invoked; the Tuscan

sharecropper did enjoy a relative security. Whatever their living standards, the *mezzadri* occupied a niche, albeit a precarious one, in the social order.

Beginning with unification, however, a whole series of changes took place which radically altered social conditions in the Tuscan provinces and contradicted the system's allegedly utopian character. At the most general level, these changes were related to the way Tuscany belatedly joined the national and international markets. Italian unity, which eliminated internal barriers to trade, created the possibility of a regional division of labor in Italy. For the propertied classes, this meant an opportunity for increased profits from more intensive cultivation and increased the risk of lower returns from the traditional methods. At the same time, unification required the state to accumulate capital steadily, and the years after the Risorgimento witnessed a heavy increase of taxes to support the construction of roads, railways, and a build-up of the military forces. The state accomplished this through a variety of indirect and direct levies on agriculture, such as the family tax, the land tax, the grist tax, the salt duties, and the cattle tax, which fell most heavily on the agricultural areas and, within them, on the peasantry. So while the development of Italian capitalism meant the creation of greater market outlets for the landlords, along with increased incentives for investment, it also meant further improverishment for the *mezzadri*.

The Tuscan landlords, however, wanted to retain the system for political and social reasons, a desire rationalized by the economic and topographical conditions in the Tuscan countryside. At the same time, insofar as people such as Ricasoli and Ridolfi were interested in commmercial agriculture they also had an interest in the removal of obstacles to trade. Hence the nobility and rural landlords were key supporters of the Risorgimento and its economic changes — often even more supportive than the commercial or industrial bourgeoisie — while yet holding on to the increasingly outmoded social structure based on the *mezzadri* system.

## RICASOLI AND THE MAREMMA

Baron Bettino Ricasoli was the paradigm of the Tuscan landlord, a patriarchal figure who knew what was best for "his" peasants.[82] He was an ambitious proprietor whose urge for achievement and search for profit led him to apply intense effort to the rationalization of agriculture. Tuscany produced few fine wines at this time. Ricasoli was one of the few landowners who succeeded in emulating French wine growers in the consistency of his vintage. To achieve this he had to introduce a rigid discipline and regimentation which went beyond the normal demands of the *mezzadria* system.

In addition, Ricasoli pioneered a new conception of agriculture and tried to promote the latest agricultural technology then being fostered in the United States, England, and France. He dreamed of a "grand culture" in the Maremma, a vast expanse of flatland lying primarily between Cecina and Civitavecchia and snuggled just inside the western coastal zone.[83] Its rolling woods and green swamps stretched endlessly toward the south, an environment where, according to an old Tuscan proverb, "you get rich in a year and die in six months." It was one of the few major areas of fertile flatland in Italy. The area was overrun with wild cattle and horses, which Ricasoli and others hoped to domesticate for farming tasks and for fertilizer to facilitate more rational crop rotation. Unfortunately, however, the coastal marshes were conducive to the spread of malaria. Additionally, a dual problem of irrigation and drainage existed there, specifically related to the difficulty of controlling the flow of water in the low-lying plains at the foot of steep slopes where the streams fanned out. The Maremma was fever-stricken from July to November, and, despite its natural fertility, was unfit to be used as wet pastures or as wheatfields.

Malaria had not yet been traced to the anopheles mosquito but was associated with stagnant waters and marshes. Hence most scientists and agronomists of the period correctly surmised that draining the Maremma would not only help prepare it for cultivation but would also rid it of malaria. Indeed, the Maremma had such an excess of moisture that seawater constantly combined with drinking water, which further contributed to the ill-health of the indigenous people. One of Fattori's striking images of the Maremma shows two female watercarriers, one of whom balances on her head the typical copper *mezzina* for transporting clean drinking water to contaminated areas on the coastal plain near Leghorn (fig. 14).

The Georgofili were fascinated with the possibilities of the Maremma and, in the process of considering large-scale reclamation projects, commissioned studies of its peculiar geographical and social conditions. Among these numerous studies was the *Memorie economico-statistiche sulle Maremme Toscane* (Statistical-Economical reports on the Tuscan Maremma), compiled in 1846 by Antonio Salvagnoli-Marchetti, a Georgofili member. Salvagnoli, who dedicated the work to Cosimo Ridolfi, called for a "physical and economical *risorgimento* of the Italian coasts."[84] Salvagnoli called attention to the rich potential of the Maremma, noting its merino sheep, horses, and cattle, its potential for large-scale cultivation of cereals, and even its mining and light manufactures. He observed that the conditions for the breeding of domestic animals, especially horses, in the Maremma could be excellent. Animals could be trained to haul machinery for the reaping and threshing of grain. He argued the need for reforestation of the depleted woods, which had been destroyed by the *carbonari* (charcoal burners), and for the introduction of advanced crop rotation techniques making use of artificial grasses for pasturage and manure for replenishing the soil. Salvagnoli noted that one of the most promising areas was the fertile plain of Cecina, bordered on the northwest by the hills of Leghorn and Rosignano Marittimo. Well situated for year-round living, it was favored with the best topographical and geological conditions in the area. In addition, the prox-

Fig. 14 — Giovanni Fattori, *The Watercarriers of Leghorn*

imity of Leghorn and Pisa would offer major markets for the Maremma's products.

It is no coincidence that Diego Martelli's father, Carlo, a water and road engineer who understood the technical problems of drainage and irrigation, purchased a huge tract of land at Castiglioncello in the province of Rosignano Marittimo, just north of the Maremma. Carlo evidently purchased this land for development based on his knowledge gained from reading Salvagnoli's work and the *Giornale Agrario Toscano,* the organ of the Georgofili, about plans for reclaiming the Maremma. Opposed to the private railroad-building schemes which would isolate Castiglioncello from central markets, Martelli wanted a line running perpendicular to the coast which would pass through Florence and on to the Adriatic coast, thus ensuring the best possible distribution for his own products.[85]

Diego inherited the vast Castiglioncello estate after his father's death in 1861, and it became the family's fundamental economic resource.[86] Besides its grain and vines, the large territory contained areas of brushwood, holm oaks, turkey oaks, and myrtle trees, which were cut mainly for the burning of charcoal, a major product of the Maremma. The oak bark served the tanners of Tuscany who used it to dress hides, while the acorns were used for feed. There was also much rich pasturage for the animals.

Castiglioncello was a *fattoria* divided into seven *poderi,* run according to the *mezzadria* system. Martelli became a major proprietor, and labored over the years to make the farm pay. Although he employed the latest scientific information for cultivation, there is no visual evidence that he used machinery or made large-scale changes. He sustained the *mezzadria* system until he sold the complex, much later in the century. While Martelli was one of the most progressive among the Macchiaioli circle, a radical who donated huge amounts of money to Garibaldi's ventures and who himself volunteered for the 1866 campaign, he was socially conservative in terms of the countryside; in this sense he was typical of the Risorgimento elite.

The artists who visited Martelli at Castiglioncello worked directly from their observations of the environment. Signorini painted the commanding coastal view from the front window of Martelli's house, while Cabianca depicted the gloomy and inhospitable landscape of the nearby Maremma in paintings such as his *Canale della Maremma toscana (Canal in the Tuscan Maremma)* (1862) (cat. no. 89). This type of canal was typically used for drainage purposes, most often to keep seawater from contaminating drinking water.

One of Fattori's most important early works is *Pasture in Maremma (Pastures in the Maremma)* (1863-64) (cat. no. 61). Like Cabianca, Fattori projects the sweep of the Maremma and its melancholic desolation. Showing wild animals grazing on carefully divided and rotated fields, he testifies to an awareness of the improvements and cultivation of the area. These fields are in various stages of development, freshly plowed and planted with artificial grass or clover and cereal. To the left, a few *contadini* carry a load of *cannetti* (cane), which grows everywhere in Tuscany and is used for a fences, roofs, and vine stakes, among other things. A feeling of isolation pervades the painting, conveying the constricted lives of the peasants.

Fattori's fascination with the Maremma, analogous to the American frontier fantasy of the Old West, absorbed him throughout his life. His later works exemplify the heroic actions of the *butteri,* the so-called "Tuscan cowboys" who herded the wild animals in the region. In *La marcatura dei puledri in Maremma (The Branding of the Colts in the Maremma)* (1887) (cat. no. 139) the relationship of the human figure to the landscape is reversed, as Fattori presents an alternative perspective on life in Tuscany. His disillusionment with the progress of the Risorgimento took the form of melancholy resignation, expressed in views of the Maremma plains and the day-to-day grind of the *butteri,* whose individuality he nevertheless invested with mythical status.

The depiction of peasants in early Macchiaioli rural scenes may be described as falling somewhere between the approach of Constable, who reduces the peasants of the English countryside to insignificance, and that of Millet, who makes his French peasants either imposing or palpably heroic. The *mezzadri* and *contadini* are present as an integral part of the landscape, even if they often seem to pose, as in a number of Borrani's landscapes done at Castiglioncello. Borrani's remarkable panoramic views are inevitably occupied by the peasant who tends the grounds, most often standing squarely in the middleground. There is nothing sentimental about his peasant woman in *Casa e marina a Castiglioncello (House and Seacoast at Castiglioncello)* (c. 1864) (cat. no. 84) who feeds her chickens; she is a strong presence, taking a frontal stance, as so many of the Macchiaioli peasants do, while looking down at the flock.

The Macchiaioli painters reveal in their rural images the somewhat contradictory social views embodied in the outlook of Ricasoli. When he spoke of liberty and social justice, he especially had in mind the great landowners. For while he believed in charitable support for the depressed *contadini,* he did not advocate the kind of social change that would give them control over the land they worked. This contradiction was embodied in his vision of the Maremma. On the one hand, he hoped to combine his love of profit with his idea of national progress by modernizing farming methods in the Maremma. He wanted to regenerate the moral life of the country and expand the national market to the outside world, and here he tied his hopes to the use of machinery in the Maremma, where he purchased a major tract of land.[87] Perhaps not suprisingly, it was Laudadio Della Ripa and Sansone D'Ancona who underwrote his investments in the region.[88]

When Ricasoli became head of the Provisional Government he naturally focused attention on the Maremma. Steam machinery was introduced there, and the government lost no time in organizing a committee to study the possibilities for tranforming the region into the grain belt of Tuscany. Ricasoli also made it a high public priority to ameliorate the situation of the peasantry there.

Yet a basic rural conservatism informed Ricasoli's Maremma policies. He wanted to transplant the *mezzadria* system to the area, replacing the prevailing wage labor arrangement dictated by the dangers of living there. Like Ridolfi, he recognized that *mezzadria* could only flourish in the Maremma at a late stage in the improvement of the region — when malaria was eliminated, the land was productive, houses were built, and settlement patterns were stabilized. But Ricasoli also resisted any extensive use of machinery that would undermine the sharecropping system. While he wanted to alleviate the drudgery and make the system more efficient and profitable, he wished above all to maintain the rural social system that had operated in Tuscany since the Renaissance. Similarly, the Macchiaioli, while

highly sensitive to the plight of the *mezzadri*, avoided all references to farm machinery and other symbols of reform, which they viewed as potential encroachments upon the sacred agricultural institution. The artists' pictorial projection of the peasantry grants the farmworkers an inherent niche in the rural spaces, but it does not allow them mastery of it.

## CARDUCCI AND THE MAREMMA

We find a literary complement to the aesthetic endeavors of the Macchiaioli and the agricultural activity of the Georgofili in the Maremma in the work of the Risorgimento poet Giosuè Carducci. A contemporary of the Macchiaioli and a close friend of several of them, he shared their political and cultural outlook.

Carducci was a political poet who disdained the school of romantic poetry, just as the Macchiaioli rejected historical romanticism. He employed mundane and historical fact in opposition to the mystical and vague, which he associated with the neo-Guelphs and neo-Catholicism. This abhorrence of romanticism moved him in the direction of realism, leading him to depict contemporary people and to regard everyday subjects, such as railway stations, with a poetic eye.

Carducci identified nature with the Italian landscape, often focusing on the scenery of the Maremma and another Tuscan region, the Versilia. His loving renditions of the countryside were as much an expression of his patriotism as his writings dedicated to Garibaldi. Characteristic rural scenes and incidents are drawn with a vivid touch and a grave simplicity which recall the Macchiaioli. His patriotism, which gave rise to poems with historical themes as well as to those dealing with nature, predisposed him to see in mountains, fields, trees, and rivers not merely beautiful natural objects but Mother Italy *(Italia madre)*. His landscapes, like those of the Macchiaioli, are the landscapes of the Risorgimento.

His poems on the Maremma combine his love of his native region with his larger love of country.[89] In the "Idillio Maremmano"("Maremman Idyll"), from the *Rime nuove (New Rhymes)* (1861-87), he gives a sketch of a young *contadina* crossing the wheat fields on a summer afternoon and shapes from this material a metaphor for a free Italy. He regrets not having lived the rugged life of the *buttero* instead of indulging in "paltry rhymes":

> Better through pathless scrubwood to go and track
> some
> Driven buffalo, which in the bush will wait
> And gaze, then leap from the underbrush when
> pursuers come.

Here the Italian term for underbrush is the familiar *macchia*, which rings out in the poem like the painterly qualities of the Macchiaioli.[90]

Similarly, Cecioni's sculptured representation of a peasant mother of the *mezzadria* system, *La Madre* (1880), inspired Carducci's ode of the same title to the ideal state:

> And when from the toil she lifted her swelling
> breast,
> Face Sun-browned and dark locks, O Tuscany,
> Thy vesper lights have touched with flaming
> Gold all the lines of her stalwart beauty.

Her labor is positive:

> Domestic work smiles all around her
> The swaying crops on the green hillside,
> The lowing cattle, and the crested
> Cock crowing proudly on the threshing-floor.

This leads Carducci to ruminate on the meaning of work in a free society, expressing the hope that all people can find joy in labor in such a society:

> When shall a common folk of free citizens
> Say as they gaze at the sun: illuminate
> Not sloth nor wars waged by tyranny,
> But the merciful justice of labor — ?

Here the *mezzadria* system becomes a model for the whole of humanity and a source of love and joy akin to the ideals of the patriotic poet Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850).

Cecioni himself felt that Carducci's ode captured the spirit of his sculpture, and in a letter expressing gratitude to the poet he went on to praise the general character of his poetry — its imagery as well as its words, its simple truth, and even its chiaroscuro and color, which he thought to be "extraordinary." Not surprisingly, he used the vocabulary of the Macchiaioli to define Carducci's work.[91]

## GEOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, AND THE LANDSCAPE

The key sciences in all the projects to improve agriculture and reclaim and drain the Maremma were geology and geography. The annual scientific congresses, the Georgofili, and the universities all emphasized and promoted these disciplines. Geological and geographical exploration became of special interest during the period of the Risorgimento as a means of concretizing the abstract idea of *La Patria* in its physical and topographical context.

It is no coincidence that the circle of the Macchiaioli included prominent students in the fields of geology and geography. We have seen that Vito D'Ancona's brother Cesare was a professional geologist. Martelli's father, as a road engineer, was well versed in geology, and Diego himself studied it at the University of Pisa. Of all of them, however, the most important was Diego's fellow student and dear friend Gustavo Uzielli (1839-1911). Indeed, Uzielli was a friend and patron of several of the Macchiaioli, and it was he who edited Cecioni's writings in 1905. His geological interests complemented the landscape studies of the Macchiaioli.

Significantly, he and Cesare D'Ancona were both prominent members of the Società Geografica, founded in 1867. The aim of the society was to promote "every study particularly directed to the exact knowledge of Italian soil *[suolo]*."[92] As an offspring of the Risorgimento, one of its initial projects was to map a united Italy. The society comprised a large number of geologists, a fact reflected in the prominent role given to them in the bulletin published annually, and then biannually, starting in 1868. Uzielli wrote regularly on geological issues, especially on problems dealing with the control of water. He contributed an essay on the oscillation of Italian soil and one on topographical and hydraulic geology, in which he credited Leonardo da Vinci as the founder of the science of hydraulics. In 1872 he published a book on Leonardo's scientific thought, which was illustrated with etchings by Signorini.

Uzielli's admiration for Garibaldi was unbounded. He joined the Sharpshooters of the Alps in the campaign of 1859, and in both 1860 and 1866 served under him as an officer. In 1860 he was one of

the Thousand who fought valiantly in the south, winning a medal for bravery in the Battle of Volturno. Undoubtedly, it was he who saw to it that a picture of Garibaldi's home on the island of Caprera was given the Thousand who fought valiantly in the south, winning a medal for bravery in the Battle of Volturno. Undoubtedly, it was he who saw to it that a picture of Garibaldi's home on the island of Caprera was given pride of place in one of the issues of the geographical society bulletin.[93] Analogous to the landscapists who expressed their patriotism through images of the Tuscan countryside and its inhabitants, Uzielli's professional work related to an exploration of the geological structure and surface of Italian terrain. Their interaction resulted from common objectives and a shared scientific outlook. The landscapes and topographical drawings in the bulletin, like the Macchiaioli studies, were executed "dal vero."[94]

## RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Uzielli came out of the Jewish community in Leghorn, the son of Sansone and Marianna Foà. The name Uzielli is derived from a Hebrew word meaning "God is my strength." He was one of a number of Jews who participated in and helped stimulate the Macchiaioli movement. We have already seen the role played by the D'Anconas, but even more important to the theoretical foundation of the movement was Serafino De Tivoli, also born in Leghorn. De Tivoli's father was a merchant, a descendant of an old Tuscan Jewish family whose ancestors could be traced to the Renaissance and included prominent rabbis and bankers. It was De Tivoli and his less-well-known brother Felice who pioneered in painting the Tuscan countryside "dal vero," and it was they who mediated the contact between Costa and Fattori. Finally, it was Serafino who brought back his observations of the 1855 exposition in Paris, and formulated the theory for the painting experiments which led to to his designation as the "papà della macchia."

Vito D'Ancona and Serafino De Tivoli, like their Macchiaioli colleagues, participated energetically in the Risorgimento battles. In 1848 both joined the Tuscan volunteers and fought at Curtatone and Montanara.[95] In 1849 De Tivoli fought under Garibaldi in the defense of Rome, where he first met Costa. The fact that D'Ancona and De Tivoli were Jews adds an historical dimension to their association with the progressive political and aesthetic movements in mid-nineteenth-century Italy.

Indeed, the "Jewish Question" was central to the policies of the architects of the Risorgimento, since their anti-clerical arguments were aimed at religious discrimination. Until every group in Italy was free, "freedom" would remain an empty abstraction. The presence of the ghetto in Italian cities was seen as a symbolic contradiction of the Catholic church's preachments on love and humanity and provided a prime target for Risorgimento polemics. It is therefore not surprising that many Italian Jews threw themselves heart and soul into the movement.[96]

For Jews, the Risorgimento had a double implication: by fighting for a free, united Italy they imagined themselves to be fighting for self-emancipation. Oppressed both as Italians and as Jews, they fought as if they had nothing to lose. Hence the rejoicing of the Jewish community in Venice on March 22, 1848, when the republican government there declared that henceforth "the citizens of the United Provinces of the Republic, whatever their religious faith, shall enjoy perfect equality of civil and political rights."[97]

Unfortunately, the defeat of the revolutionary regimes and the subsequent reaction swept away those gains. Jewish disappointment, like the general disillusionment, was one of the bitter fruits of the overall disaster. Although the gates of the Venice ghetto had been physically broken down in 1797, and, under Austrian rule Jews were free to own property, some restrictions still applied, and many poor Jews continued to live in the ghetto. After the Treaty of Villafranca the Veneto still belonged to Austria, and amid the celebrations in Milan and Florence, Venice was mourned as if dead by Lombards and Tuscans who had achieved union after the wars of 1859.[98]

It is not coincidental that Signorini's first major picture of the *macchia* movement was *Il Ghetto di Venezia (The Venice Ghetto)* (c. 1860) (fig. 15). Everywhere in Italy, the ghetto signified not only the subjection of the Jews but also the oppression of the Italians. Founded on April 10, 1516, the Venetian ghetto was in fact the original ghetto, the first enforced zone of residence for Jews in Italy and the place which set the example for urban slums down to our own day. Signorini's original title for his painting was *Il quartiere degli Israeliti a Venezia (The Jewish Quarter in Venice).* It was first shown at the Promotrice exhibition in Turin in 1861, where it created great controversy and was attacked for its exaggerated "chiaroscuro." Signorini later referred to it as one of his most "subversive" pictures; the use of the term must have implied more than its sprightly technique.[99] His choice of Turin as the city in which to introduce the painting was significant, for it was not only the capital of Piedmont and of the new Italian state but was also one of the most liberal on the question of Jewish civil rights.

One of the most influential works on Italian Jews came from the pen of the Piedmontese aristocrat Massimo D'Azeglio. *Sull'Emancipazione civile degli Israeliti (On the Civil Enfranchisement of the Jews),* published in 1847, had a major impact throughout the peninsula. D'Azeglio's brother Roberto and other prominent figures in Piedmont, Vincenzo Gioberti, Cesare Balbo, and Camillo Cavour — all instrumental in guiding the course of the Risorgimento — actively championed the emancipation of Jews as being in the Risorgimento's best interest. Cavour had taken up the question in his newspaper, *Il Risorgimento,* and when Carlo Alberto of Piedmont was finally persuaded to follow a liberal policy it was impossible to avoid taking this religious agitation into account. On March 29, 1848, he signed a decree extending civil rights to Jews and other non-Catholics in his domain and abrogating all previous laws to the contrary. Thus as annexation to Piedmont took place, the provisions of the Piedmontese constitution were extended thoughout the country, including the emancipation of the Jews. Henceforth the regeneration of Italian Jewry was bound up with Turin, Piedmont, and Cavour. Cavour received financial, political, and moral support from the most active segment of the Jewish population, who were essentially middle-class moderate liberals like the D'Anconas.

Signorini must have counted on this favorable climate for the reception of his theme of the Venice ghetto. He painted it at a time when his patriotic impulses were strong, when there was a growing market for Risorgimento themes, and when artists were pressed to depict patriotic themes in preparation for the 1861 exposition. Signorini was discharged from the Tuscan artillery in October 1859

and spent the following winter in Florence. At the 1860 Promotrice he exhibited two military themes (perhaps done for the Ricasoli contest), including *L'Artigliera toscana a Montechiaro (The Tuscan Artillerymen at Montechiaro* (cat. no. 32). He then made a special trip to Solferino in 1860 in preparation for his military picture displayed at the exposition — *Expulsion of the Austrians from Solferino* (1860). His study of *Il cimitero di Solferino (The Cemetery of Solferino)* also dates from this period. He continued on to Milan and Turin before going to La Spezia to make his boldest *macchia* studies to date. He applied the structure of one of these *macchia* studies to sketches he had made of the Venice ghetto in 1856 when he visited there with D'Ancona. Thus, as in the case of Fattori, Signorini's most daring experiments of the period cannot be separated from his involvement with the national movement.

He hoped for a positive response to his sense of patriotism when the *Venice Ghetto* was exhibited in Turin. There, as in Florence, patriotism and the art market were inseparable, and Signorini reminds us in a note that his military paintings sold well.[100] He clearly imagined that the painting would reach the same market and exploit the same climate. But what was acceptable in a battle picture was evidently seen in a different light when it exposed at such close range and with such shocking visual effects the lingering degradation and poverty of Venetian Jewish life.

Signorini's picture, which horrified the public, depicts a mass of seedy tenements with living quarters piled story upon story in narrow, cavernously dark streets. Wretched, hopeless ghetto dwellers are slumped dejectedly in corners or walk listlessly. Yet this is no ordinary genre picture à la Decamps but rather a pitiless, unsentimentalized examination of conditions akin to those described by D'Azeglio in his analysis of the Roman ghetto:

> It is a formless mass of houses and hovels that are badly kept up, in constant need of repairs and falling half apart. In it vegetates a population of 3,900 souls, in a space where even half that many would live badly. The narrow streets, which are choked with people, the lack of air, the constant dirt which is the inevitable result of forced overcrowding, all of these factors constitute to make this area sad, ill-smelling and unhealthy.[101]

Using his *macchia* technique to emphasize the gloomy archways and cavernous alleys, Signorini was clearly trying to catch an analogous vision. His harsh sunlight reveals through explosive contrast an environment which rarely saw the light of day, and whose denizens lived so close to the edge that survival required shunning the light. Signorini's *macchia* technique exposes the textures, the smells, and the grimy aspects of this existence.

At the same time, no one could have missed that the *Venice Ghetto* was a metaphorical image of a Venice still bound to Austria. Several paintings of 1861-62 make allegorical allusions to the isolated Veneto, including Domenico Induno's *Povera Venezia (Poor Venice),* exhibited together with his *Bolletino del giorno 14 luglio 1859 che annunziava la pace di Villafranca (Bulletin of July 14, 1859, Announcing the Peace of Villafranca),* which portrays the disillusionment in Milan with the terms of the treaty. The shock of the Treaty of Villafranca, which left the Veneto under Austrian rule, fell heavily on the Venetian population, and contemporary descriptions characterize the people as martyred, mangled, and bleeding from every vein, enduring an ancient yoke and writhing "under stripes yet fiercer than those of old." Reports in November described the people as oppressed and desolate, with "gloomy, sullen silence" brooding over the once cheerful population.[102] In this sense, Signorini's robotic figures are taken to symbolize the mood of Venice at that time.

Like Fattori, Signorini avoids dramatic and emotional devices. He depicts a typical moment in the lives of the ghetto inhabitants rather than a holiday or a ceremonial event. The *macchia* is used specifically to objectify the conditions of a particular corner of Italian society. While the image may seem tame to us in 1986, it struck the Turin public in 1861 as unremittingly ugly, a vision of a world they would rather avoid, or, at best, glimpse in a more agreeable guise.

Evidence that the ghetto was an abidingly serious subject for Signorini is seen in the fact that he repeated the theme in 1882, this time showing the *Il Ghetto di Firenze (The Florence Ghetto)* (fig. 16) at a time when this vital traditional area was threatened with extinction.[103] Cecioni considered this painting one of Signorini's best. He especially admired the figure of the elderly man wearing tattered clothing and a hat who walks toward the spectator, the direct counterpart of the stout woman carrying the basket in the *Venice Ghetto.* For him, this figure symbolized the whole of the Florentine ghetto.

## ANTI-CLERICALISM

The call for Jewish emancipation was a part of the larger issue of religious liberty and of the prevailing anti-clerical attitude during the period of the Risorgimento. There is a distinct anti-clericalism suggested in the bizarre absence of religious themes in the Macchiaioli, painters in a culture where the Church was, and remains, a dominant force. One seeming exception is Vincenzo Cabianca's *Il Mattino (The Morning)* (1862), now called the *Le monachine (The Nuns)* (fig. 17). One version was exhibited in the same Turin Promotrice as the *Venice Ghetto* and another in the Italian exposition later that year. Both were based on studies Cabianca did with Signorini at La Spezia in 1860, and caused almost as much controversy as Signorini's painting. In Cabianca's case, the staunch anti-clericalists in the Turin audience could not negotiate with this image of a religious subject in a humdrum context; the work neither obviously condemned nor celebrated the religious life of a convent.

Fig. 15 — Telemaco Signorini, *The Venice Ghetto*

Fig. 16 — Telemaco Signorini *The Florence Ghetto*

Cabianca projects his view above a sweep of pale-blue sea and undulating coastline, from a grassy height whose stone rampart cuts across the picture plane just below the horizon. In the left foreground, listless pairs of white-coifed nuns issue from the grim portal of the convent. They move robotlike to take their recreation on the breezy terrace; one pair stands watching the cooing flirtations of several white pigeons. The other nuns, as one liberal Florentine critic wrote, descend a stairway "into the cold blue shadow of a burial crypt." While complaining of the lack of "manual industry" in the execution, the critic was clearly impressed with the originality of Cabianca's presentation of the religious subject.[104] There is an unmistakable affinity between the white flaps of the nuns' coifs and the pigeons' outstretched wings. Cabianca draws a contrast between the freedom of the birds and the mechanized routine of the nuns, who are fenced in by the heavy stone rampart. The nuns move in measured cadence, with neither gesture nor facial animation. Despite the fact that it is set in an oceanside environment, dominated by a limpid sky reflected in the sparkling blue sea, the picture has a mournful air.

A milestone in the formation of Macchiaioli compositional structure, *The Nuns* is one of the first major examples of the oblong or panoramic format almost all of the painters in the group employed at one time or another. Their large body of work in this format seems to be unique in nineteenth-century painting and probably derives from their studies of Quattrocento murals and from composite panoramic photography. They use it most often to catch the sweep of a landscape while keeping the human action within view. This type of composition "pans" across the picture frame, with the horizon parallel to the frontal plane. Generally included are groups of *contadini* or of middle-class people moving across the picture almost at eye level. As in a frieze or mural, the group movement more or less sustains the lateral compositional rhythm, with the figures confined to the coordinate views.

Fig. 17 — Vincenzo Cabianca, *The Nuns*
Fig. 18 — Giuseppe Abbati, *The Cloister of Santa Croce*

Another example of Macchiaioli "secularization" is Giuseppe Abbati's *Chiostro (Cloister)* (c. 1861-62) (cat. no. 44), one of a series of *macchia* studies he did during the restoration and renovation of the Gothic church of Santa Croce. While at nineteen by twenty-five centimeters it does not conform strictly to the panoramic format, its central motif — the piled-up marble blocks and low cloister wall on which a lone youth sits — hangs in the central zone like Fattori's French soldiers and emphasizes a horizontal disposition. Santa Croce was one of several buildings in Florence restored between 1857 and 1863. In addition to Santa Croce, the Bargello, Santa Maria Novella, and the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi all underwent renovation in these years. These improvements were a reflection of the civic pride that arose in the wake of independence.

Abbati's interest in Santa Croce is connected to his interest in interiors. Although a cloister is simultaneously an interior and an exterior, Abbati forces us to look toward the interior as a darkened backdrop for the brilliantly highlighted marble blocks. Abbati's father, Vincenzo (1803-1860), was himself a famous painter of religious interiors who gained a reputation for his pious scenes of the choir, the sacristy, and the chapter (fig. 1). He transmitted this specialty to his son Giuseppe, who exhibited three works in the exposition of 1861, all interiors painted in Santa Maria Novella and San Miniato al Monte.

It was in the period of this show that Abbati's patriotism and attachment to Florence began to be expressed in *macchia* experiments. These experiments coincided with his exposure to the nationalist works at the exposition and his perception of the *macchia* in its relationship to the Risorgimento. In 1860 he was one of Garibaldi's Thousand, and in the battle of Capua early in October he lost an eye. Two years later he joined Garibaldi again for the aborted march on Rome and agonized through the tragic episode of Aspromonte. During the interval he met Serafino De Tivoli, who introduced him to the Caffè Michelangiolo circle. His politicization in this period is shown by the fact that he refused to acknowledge the medal offered him by the exposition's jury because he had earlier participated in a group protest against its conservative composition.

Like Fattori, Signorini, and Cabianca, Abbati's early *macchia* experiments were inseparable from his political engagement. His approach to Santa Croce is in fact a remarkable case of artistic and philosophic understatement, consistent with the simplicity and objectivity of the *macchia* style in general. He steadfastly refused to allow himself to be seduced by the approach taken by his father or by other conventional approaches to church imagery. Rather, he looked to the sections of the church under repair or restoration that presented either few theological associations or none at all. Even in his large, comprehensive work *Il chiostro di Santa Croce (The Cloister of Santa Croce)* (c. 1862) (fig. 18), where monks read or stroll in the shadow of the cloisters, the half of the picture in the sunlight exposes the work site, with laborers loading stones and marble blocks onto a cart; here chiaroscuro presents not only a formal opposition but a narrative and ideological confrontation as well.

Abbati's understatement appears even more remarkable when we recall the importance of this medieval edifice in Florentine history. The church may be called the Pantheon of modern Italy, for buried here are some of its greatest heroes, including Machiavelli, Michelangelo, Galileo, and Alfieri. Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), the great poet of the early Risorgimento, wrote his masterpiece, *Dei Sepolcri (On Tombs)* (1807), with Santa Croce in mind. His poem evokes a kind of symbolic roll call of the secular heroes of Italian culture, and it came to signify for Italian liberals such as Mazzini and Garibaldi the overthrow of all foreign tyrants. Because of these associations Santa Croce was seen as the symbol both of Florentine greatness and of Italy as a nation, and so quite naturally became a symbolic focus of the Risorgimento. As noted, its restoration was a product of Tuscan patriotism. This patriotism also had more contemporary implications, since Santa Croce had been the site of popular demonstrations and violent incidents throughout the 1850s.[105] Santa Croce became an especially powerful national symbol by 1859, and, not surprisingly, its convent was targeted, along with the homes of Ricasoli and Salvagnoli, in a series of bombings by the Right in January 1860.[106]

And now we come back to the paintings of Abbati, so simple and yet so extraordinary both in terms of their artistic heritage and Risorgimento idealism. His *Cloister* is the exact opposite of his father's interiors, which glorified the splendor and the spectacle of church and chapel. Like Signorini, who transformed his father's Vedutisti tradition, Abbati converts his father's conventional, aristocratic *view* into an image which permits the spectator to enter a secularized world of cloisters and church under repair. Abbati divests Santa Croce not only of its religious sanctity but also of its glorified, heroic associations.

Yet Abbati has not abandoned Santa Croce as a patriotic emblem. He shows it in a fresh and modern context. His accomplishment, and that of the Macchiaioli generally, was to make over Italian art into a means of communicating the contemporary ideals of the Risorgimento. The *Cloister,* with all its apparent innocence, embodies a democratic and scientific approach compatible with the new, secular attitude. The crumbling of the old order in Tuscany was heralded in the fresh experiments of the Macchiaioli. Abbati's other scene of Santa Croce, showing the monks and the workmen, does not exalt or dramatize its content but flattens everything out and brings everyone to the same social level. The absence of social caste, like the absence of churchly and hierarchical trappings, makes Abbati's flat *macchie* — expressed most vividly in the marble blocks and their contrast with the darkened area of the cloistered walks — a leveling experience, akin to the principle of nationalism itself.

## ITALIAN FEMINISM

It is this consciousness of the leveling aspect of their art that makes much Macchiaioli imagery important in still another respect, their fresh examination of the role of women in the context of Italian feminism. Until now this factor has not been noted in their art, but it would seem from the visual evidence that the Macchiaioli viewed women in a much more favorable light than most of their male contemporaries both at home and abroad. This is remarkable when we recall that in nineteenth-century Italy women could acquire status only in the roles of wife and mother.

This is not to say we should look for radical feminist suggestions in the work of the Macchiaioli. They came from a predominantly bourgeois and patriarchal background, where women bore not only the weight of male oppression, but the ominipresent pressure of the Church in everyday family life. Elaborate rituals for young women on holy and festival days and daily religious duties occupied a major portion of female activity. The role of the priest in the life of the women of the upper-class family went beyond normal religious functions; he was also the personal advisor, intermediary, and administrative assistant. The priest's role in influencing women is the theme of a popular novel of the period, *Vincenzo, or Sunken Rocks,* by Giovanni Ruffini (1807-1881), the son of a revolutionary family closely allied with Mazzini and a member of Giovine Italia. Published in 1863, the novel takes place against the background of the Risorgimento, and recounts a husband's attempt (not undertaken without condescension) to break through his wife's socialization pattern and heighten her political consciousness. Rose, however, turns the tables on him and tries to win him to Catholicism through the wily coaching of the family priest, Don Pio. The tension created leads to profound domestic strife, a conflict typical of Italian families in this period.

Examining now the works of the Macchiaioli, we may note that with the exception of their military themes, women statistically predominate over men in their paintings. While showing women in their traditional spaces, the home and the garden, doing such traditional chores as sewing and embroidering, they portray them with a directness and sense of dignity that is rare in mid-nineteenth-century painting. Fattori's women, for example, are often powerful presences who look at the spectator with astonishing candor. Their heads do not tilt coyly nor do they appear passive or melancholy. Generally, the women in Macchiaioli paintings do not engage in flirtatious exchanges or share private feelings with a peering male voyeur, imagined or real. They do not show off fancy new gowns or comport themselves for display in gardens or at the lakeside or oceanside as do women in French and American Impressionist works. While Fattori's *Rotonda di Palmieri (The Palmieri Pavilion)* (1866) does portray a group of upper-class women at the seaside, dressed at the height of fashion, their grave, dignified silhouettes dominate the scene, yielding a sense of group activity and serious conversation rather than one of leisure-time frivolity. Their gravity is akin to that seen in Fattori's portrait of his first wife, Settimia Vannucci, and in his 1861 image of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. Although the Macchiaioli painted the occasional woman with a parasol and the daydreaming young girl, a large portion of their work depicts females engaged in useful work or in conversation during a pause in their labors. Women are shown collaborating and enjoying being with each other.

These depictions of women in their intimate spaces are invaluable for understanding Tuscan social relations in both peasant and upper-class enviroments: the formality, hierarchy, politeness, etiquette, and repression of emotions that seemed typical of bourgeois life in Tuscany in this period. Banti's *Riunione di contadine (Gathering of Peasant Women)* (1861) (cat. no. 45) shows women attending their children, or winding yarn on a hand-held distaff, even during pauses in their field labor. It may be said that males are absent because the painters chose to depict the interior, more intimate spaces (i.e., female spaces), while men occupied the public and outside spaces, the cafes,

squares, streets, and markets. It is also true that many men were still fighting in the armies of Garibaldi and Piedmont, or were working out of the country. Whatever the reason, the Macchiaioli painters did present women empathetically rather than voyeuristically.

An important example of this empathy is Borrani's *Le cucitrici di camicie rosse (The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts)* (1863) (cat. no. 14), an extension of *The 26th of April 1859* and a sign that the Tuscan Risorgimento was no longer clandestine. Borrani's lone female figure in the earlier painting can now work as part of a team, a kind of femininist collective. The portrait of Garibaldi on the wall at the right, as well as the collage of Garibaldiana at the left, demonstrates the political engagement of these industrious women. Exemplified by the female at the right whose head is bent in rapt concentration, they are absorbed in their tasks. Few works of the nineteenth century compare to this portrayal of women dedicated to a task of such political significance. While all the typical accessories of the intimate bourgeois domestic interior are present, the women who occupy the space are not pictured idly staring or waiting for a male to divert them, as they are in many "bourgeois" domestic scenes of the period.

Of course these shirts are being sewn for men, and the gloomy mood and somber physiognomies suggest that the work is done with a heavy heart. The group is sewing *red* shirts for Garibaldi's volunteers; their men could be declared outlaws or even be maimed or killed. (The date of the work makes it probable that the shirts are being prepared for the ill-fated attempt on Rome in 1862, which culminated with the tragic episode at Aspromonte.) But the precise realism of this interior, with its *murano* glass, matching furniture, and chintz curtains (strongly hinting at a photographic source), makes it clear that the painter wished to show that bourgeois women were now inspired to lend their unqualified support to the national cause.

Borrani's intimate domestic scenes are free of the sense of Victorian morality evoked by Pre-Raphaelite interiors. In Tuscan realism there is no overt moralizing, no historionic breakthrough, simply the grinding day-to-day routine transcribed with incisive accuracy. While Macchiaioli practitioners often painted domestic interiors without explicit political comment, they have to be viewed within the context of the profound pressures exerted on daily life by Risorgimento politics and war. The work of the farm and of the home continue, but amid the strains of unification. Borrani's glimpses of feminine participation in the Risorgimento yield an unexpected insight into the way political life intruded into the ordinarily solemn sanctuary of the Italian family.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the remarkable series of paintings of women done by Silvestro Lega in the 1860s. These works were stimulated by his contact with the Batelli family, with whom he lived at Piagentina (a suburb of Florence) beginning in the mid-1860s. They are sharply insightful images of a prosperous middle-class family, seen through the lens of a radical social consciousness. Signorini astutely remarked that Lega's perceptions of life in the Batelli villa were painted "in the clearest and most luminous range of the chiaroscuro values, where the different feelings of women of all ages were delicately analyzed, in all their passions and social conditions. . ."[107]

Signorini also claimed that Lega was the most consistent of the Macchiaioli in his political ideals, refusing to compromise them like many of his friends. He does seem to have been the most radical of the group, not only participating in the wars of the Risorgimento (he enrolled as a Tuscan volunteer in 1848) but also taking part in Mazzini-inspired conspiracies in the early 1850s. He had close contact with the radical circle around Dolfi, and Martelli relates how Lega, neatly attired in a fashionable stovepipe hat, kept concealed under it a stack of revolutionary handbills and a pot of paste. Just before midnight Lega would quickly dispatch the handbills on the public walls of Florence.[108]

Lega's radicalism and his insightful glimpses into female life in mid-nineteenth-century Italy may be understood only within the context of contemporary agitation for female emancipation. Upper- and middle-class women participated in the work force at a low level and had little liberty outside the home. As daughters, wives, mothers, and even widows, they were subjected to a routine oppression that seemed to question their status as rational beings. They were watched, guarded, mistrusted, and deprived of free choice. Their education, which was woefully weak in comparison with that of males, emphasized learning to dance, sing, and play the piano, and to read and write French. Learning to dress well and according to the latest fashions was also a major part of their education.

Not surprisingly, Risorgimento reformers placed as much emphasis on the emancipation of women as on that of the Jews. Silvio Pellico (1789-1854), the author of *Le mie prigioni (My Imprisonment)* (1832), elsewhere attacked the Italian marriage system and advocated reform of the social code. "Domestic virtues," he wrote, "linking such reform to national liberation, form the basis of national virtues." He further claimed that Italy could become great only when "the homes from which her people issue are purified from the unholy influences pervading them at present."[109] This meant above all, the elevation of the social position of woman in every phase of her existence, her full liberation and education.

Pellico was no exception. Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and Ricasoli demonstrated enlightened attitudes toward women. Ricasoli devoted much time and effort to the education of his only daughter, Elisabetta, thinking that he would set an example for the new Italy by giving to it a woman of high intelligence and noble character. Cavour's correspondence with Anastasie Klustine, the Comtesse de Circourt, whose salon in Paris was a meeting ground for eminent literary, artistic, and political leaders, suggests a friendship of intellectual and cultural equality. (For political reasons, however, he was not above persuading the king to marry off his daughter Clothilde to Prince Napoleon.) Garibaldi, influenced by Saint-Simonist feminism, supported women's suffrage movements, and in turn women (sometimes in disguise) fought with his redshirts. Garibaldi's novel *I Mille (The Thousand)* (1874) is the story of one Garabaldina who eventually dies fighting for her leader near Naples. Guerrazzi's novels almost always spotlight strong female characters; the protagonist of his *Beatrice Cenci* (1853) is literally a superwoman. D'Azeglio's females are more pliant and fit the stereotype more closely, but even he feels constrained to apologize from time to time for fear of offending his women readers. He wrote in his memoirs that "intellectually there is little difference between persons of the two sexes."[110]

But of all the patriarchs of the Risorgimento, it was Mazzini who came closest to articulating a consistent program for the liberation of women. This was perhaps not surprising since throughout his career,

starting with the powerful moral and intellectual support given by his mother, he was dependent on strong and courageous women who aided him in his personal and political life. In 1858 he spelled out his program in the *I doveri dell'uomo (The Duties of Man)*, dedicated to the Italian working classes. Here, he declared unequivocally that the emancipation of Italy required the full emancipation of women:

> Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over Woman. You have none whatsoever. Long prejudice, an inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice have created that *apparent* intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression. But does not the history of every oppression teach us how the oppressor ever seeks his justification and support by appealing to a *fact* of his own creation? The feudal castes that withheld education from the sons of the people excluded them on the grounds of that very want of education from the rights of the citizen . . . The slaveholders of America declare the black race radically inferior and incapable of education, and yet persecute those who seek to instruct them. For half-a-century, the supporters of the reigning families of Italy have declared the Italians unfit for freedom, and meanwhile . . . close every path through which we might overcome the obstacles to our improvement . . . Now, we men have ever been, and still are, guilty of a similar crime towards Woman. Avoid even the shadow or semblance of this crime; there is none heavier in the sight of God, for it divides the human family into two classes, and imposes or accepts the subjugation of one class to another.

Mazzini admonishes his readers to consider women as partners in all attempts at social amelioration, as the equal of the male in civil and political life. Male and female then become like "two human wings" which carry society to the ideal of the new nation.[111]

Mazzini considered gender equality so essential to the new state that he repeated his position in the final statement of his book:

> At the present day, one-half of the human family . . . is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and excluded from the great unity. To you who are seeking your own enfranchisement and emancipation in the name of a religious truth, to you it belongs to protest on every occasion and by every means against this negation of unity. The emancipation of woman, then, must be regarded by you as necessarily linked with the emancipation of the workingman.[112]

There is no question that the many leaders of the Risorgimento were stirred to their awareness of the need for female emancipation by women themselves. While the literature on it remains scanty, there was a feminist movement in Italy inspired by the drive for national unity.[113] One of its leaders was Cristina Belgioioso (née Trivulzio) (1808-1871), the daughter of Milanese nobility who spent much of her life in exile in Paris.[114] Belgioioso followed the political route of most Italian reformers, beginning as a member of the female equivalent of the *carbonari* known as the *giardiniere* (female gardeners). She then worked with Mazzini, served Giovine Italia by securing arms and ships from France and acting as an intermediary with the French government, and finally shifted her allegiance to Piedmont and the House of Savoy. She devoted most of her adult life to the Italian nationalist movement and in the process became an ardent feminist.

After unification in 1861, she wrote articles defending the new state and attacking its enemies, both foreign and domestic. In 1866 she made her major contribution to the Italian feminist movement with the essay *Della presente condizione delle donne e del loro avvenire (On the Present Condition of Women and Their Future)*. While not involved in the issue of militant feminism, she nevertheless used the essay to analyze dispassionately the conventional subjugation of women and the means to achieve its abolition.

Two years later, she published her important *Osservazioni sullo stato attuale dell'Italia e sul suo avvenire (Observations on the Current State of Italy and Its Future)*, an essay which shows that the status of women and the status of Italy were linked in her mind. As in the earlier work, she begins by recapitulating the tyranny which for many years the Italian people accepted as a natural condition. She compares Italy's psychological fragmentation to women's lifelong self-deception, relating the latter to inherited myths of racial and regional inferiority. She concludes that the solution for Italy's problems lies in total reeducation, to correct their ingrained habit of thinking like a conquered people.

In Italy, as in France, 1848 released new feminist energies which took off in various directions during the second half of the nineteenth century. One woman enlightened by the events of 1848 was Anna Maria Mozzoni (1837-1920), a key figure in Italian feminism.[115] Like Belgioioso, she came from Lombard nobility, but her contact with workers' movements in 1848 made her more militant. She fought wage discrimination on behalf of both sexes and in the process discovered the sexism inherent in the worker's movement. Her important book, *La donna e i suoi rapporti sociali (Woman and Her Social Relations)* (1864), provided a major contribution to feminist thought in the aftermath of unification.

Another major source of energy was the first major Italian feminist journal, *La Donna*, founded in Genoa in 1855 by a group of women exiles.[116] *La Donna* seems astonishingly up to date in its concerns, addressing social injustices, tracing the origins of female discrimination, supplying advice on dealing with everyday oppression, and exposing contradictions in the marriage laws. Its first issue took up the question of young female suicides, attributing them to societal pressures and hypocrisies. Besides attacking masculine oppression, *La Donna* provided instruction in the sciences and took positions on other important issues of the day. Above all, it advised its readers to help the poor and involve themselves in charitable causes to ameliorate the condition of the underclasses, thus benefiting all of society and accelerating the process of national regeneration.

*La Donna's* involvement in the Risorgimento also expressed itself in an appreciation of Italian folklore, especially the folk songs known as *rispetti* and *stornelli*.[117] The *rispetto* was almost always a love song, while the *stornello* — from the verb *storno* (to re-echo) — could be lyrical, satirical, or political. These were printed in *La Donna* to help promote an understanding of the condition of women in Italian history.

This dual interest in folklore and feminist ideology was embodied in the work of the Piedmontese anthropologist and professor of Sanskrit, Angelo De Gubernatis (1840-1913). De Gubernatis, who wrote prolifically on the folk tradition, published the militant writings of Fanny Lewald and others in his journal *Rivista Europea*, founded in 1869, and advocated women's suffrage.[118] In Florence in 1890 he organized the first national exposition of women's work. De Gubernatis was well known to the Macchiaioli, especially to Diego Martelli and Signorini, who wrote for the *Rivista Europea*.

De Gubernatis' thought gives us some insight into the feminist ferment of the 1860s and its influence on the Macchiaioli. Martelli was most likely a prime link between the feminists and the Macchiaioli. His mother, Ernesta, was a strong personality quite open to feminist ideas and social reform. Raised by her distinguished maternal aunt, Quirina Mocenni Magiotti, an unusually cultured and forthright woman who supported the early Risorgimento heroes, Ernesta was a warm friend of Foscolo, Capponi, Pellico, and Mazzini; these last two were ardent champions, as we have seen, of female emancipation. Thus Martelli and his friends were probably in close touch with feminist activity stimulated by the Risorgimento, especially as filtered through the work of Belgioioso and Mazzini.

Thus the Risorgimento proved to be a stimulus to women's awareness of the need for a change; its idea of cohesion of all social groups led to a critique of the traditional female roles of "spose e madri" as the exclusive destiny of women. It encouraged the idea of an active collaboration of the sexes to create the new nation. For most of its male leaders, Risorgimento in part meant the "rehabilitation" of women, and this primarily meant full educational and professional opportunities. Both Mazzinian and Catholic liberals could agree on this.

## LEGA AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Returning now to Lega, we find that his radicalism was nurtured by Mazzinian ideals. One of his closest friends in Modigliana was the Mazzinian priest Don Giovanni Verità, whose likeness he painted at least twice. Verità had joined Giovine Italia and was one of Garibaldi's most ardent supporters among the clergy. It was he who helped engineer Garibaldi's escape from the Austrians during the retreat from Rome in 1849; this parish priest was a critical link in the chain as Garibaldi was passed from one farm to the next.

After the fall of Rome, Lega became fiercely anti-French, even resisting the lure of the Barbizon school and Courbet because of his patriotism. But in 1859 his political position changed, and like most of the other Macchiaioli (and the middle classes in general) he joined the ranks of those who favored union with Piedmont. Here he may also have taken his cue from the moderate shift of his friend Verità.[119] Nevertheless, he remained a faithful partisan of Mazzini to the end; one of his most moving paintings is the deathbed portrait of the great patriot, *Mazzini morente (Mazzini on His Deathbed)* (1873) (cat. no. 29).

Consistent with Macchiaioli realism, Lega does not glorify Mazzini with dramatic flourish, but shows him in an evenly lit room with his head propped up by a pillow and lying on his side facing front, as if seen by a bedside visitor.[120] The attention to the texture and pattern of the blanket wrapped in heavy folds around Mazzini and the simple backdrop minimize dramatization yet retain something of the man's spartan simplicity.

In the period between Florence's revolution and the opening of the Italian National Exposition of 1861, Lega emulated his colleagues in producing military images. He even entered the Ricasoli competitions with his *Il general Garibaldi a Varese nella gloriosa giornata del 26 maggio (General Garibaldi at Varese on the Glorious Day of May 26)* (1859-60), depicting the victory of Garibaldi's Sharpshooters of the Alps over the Austrians near Lake Maggiore in 1859. Nearly the entire population of Varese came out to cheer Garibaldi when he addressed the crowd from the balcony of the town hall. Lega won a first prize for his picture, marking his transition to more moderate politics. In 1861 he executed several military paintings based on episodes of the 1859 wars that were shown at the exposition that year.

That same year he first met Spirito Batelli, who had inherited from his father a major publishing and printing establishment.[121] Batelli was a liberal supporter of the Ricasoli government, and he and Lega immediately hit if off. Concerned about the health of his daughters, Batelli had moved just outside the city to Piagentina, near the Via Artina in the southeast, along the banks of the river Affrico, a tributary of the Arno. Lega developed a close relationship with the family and by 1865 had moved in with them. Later, Batelli's house would become a sanctuary and meeting place for several of the Macchiaioli, including Signorini, Sernesi, Abbati, and Borrani.

In the mid-1860s the family was beset with personal torments. Batelli's wife had died in 1863, his mother in 1865. The oldest daughter, Virginia, was separated from her husband, and the youngest, Maria Delfina, always in delicate health, was to die prematurely in 1867. Lega brought both his compassion and advanced social perspective to his experience with the Batelli family during these difficult years; the result was a series of penetrating glimpses of intimate family life during the Risorgimento period.

*L'elemosina (Charity)* (1864) (fig. 19) takes us into the enclosed garden of the Batelli villa, where an elderly female beggar confronts the two sisters and their female friend, who is shown standing against the low wall of the terrace. The old woman holds out her hand to receive the alms from the friend, while the two sisters preoccupy themselves with a newspaper. Lega has visually emphasized the class differences between the beggar and the three young women, not only by their dress but also — using the typical Macchiaioli panoramic effect — by locating the old woman at the far right and the three younger women at a considerable distance on the left. The beggar "keeps her place" while accosting her young hostesses, and they in turn maintain social distance either by ignoring her or making little effort to reach out to her. At the same time, the three do not treat the occasion lightly but regard the old woman's request seriously. The mendicant clearly expects to receive something, and her demeanor is neither threatening nor aggressive.

Fig. 19 — Silvestro Lega, *Charity*

There was a group of beggars in Tuscany who supplemented their regular means of survival by collecting charity. Peasant women whose husbands were *mezzadri* regularly went around seeking monetary and other kinds of donations. Indeed, since many *mezzadri* lived on the threshold of pauperism, the upper classes considered it good politics to engage regularly in these charitable acts. Indeed, almsgiving in the Tuscan countryside was done on something like fixed schedule; most villas had one or two days in the week, usually Monday and Thursday at 10 a.m., when alms were distributed to all who came and asked. This practice, which was sanctioned by the Church, clearly contributed to sustaining the social system and postponing real social reform. Charity was the one form of redistribution of wealth that the Tuscan-Christian tradition promoted.

The elderly beggar in Lega's painting is clearly of this category; she most likely worked on one of the *poderi* owned by Batelli. While he did not own a large tract of land, Batelli employed a number of *contadini* who lived in their own houses with attached plots of land. Lega is finely attuned to this confrontation of two generations of women and two different social classes. The rich guest extends her hand toward the beggar in a parsimonious gesture; almsgiving is still not an occasion for open generosity. It is done out of duty rather than love, which is why the elderly woman expects it. Lega's work documents a moment in Tuscan life when rhetoric about liberty and justice applied to only a small portion of the society who could use it to its advantage. And he envisions this social confrontation in a feminine context; the mendicant searching for castoff clothing for herself or money for her family is allowed to intrude in the intimate space of upper-class women.

Lega's *Il canto dello stornello (Singing the Stornello)* (1867) (fig. 20) moves back into the interior, into a space and mood reminiscent of the sanctuary in Borrani's *The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts*. There is no air of sadness here; the three women are bound together through a folk song whose words are clearly significant. The woman standing in the center fingers her chin awkwardly as she simultaneously sings and contemplates the lyrics. The woman seated at the piano also intones the words but concentrates on hitting the right keys. The whole work has the gravity of a religious rite, reminiscent of the works of Piero della Francesca. In this male-less space, the women neither pose nor behave self-consciously but use their precious leisure time to be together in a meaningful way. Their bodies are close together and they sing in harmony, their lips parted almost identically. The ritualistic harmony is a metaphor for national unity and the new female promised by the Risorgimento.

As indicated previously, the *stornello* was a folk song that often recounted the status of women in the past. Folk songs helped shape the social attitudes of children and adolescents, showing them the time-honored path to adulthood, courtship, and marriage. They allowed the singers to express their feelings through a conventional form which did not cause embarrassment. *Stornelli* often consisted in an improvised defiance suited to the company, ending with some kind of refrain or chorus which the group sang in response. It is this exchange, and its uniform metrical system, which make the *stornello* unique. Lega shows us this exchange in his painting, the moment of the refrain when the group answers the first singer. Alessandro Falassi, who has written brilliantly on Tuscan folk traditions in his *Folklore by the Fireside*, shows the wide variety of *stornelli* themes and the ways in which they encoded the rebellious ideas of the younger generation.[122] For example, referring to someone not favored by a mother, a young woman might sing:

I want a husband of my own choice
Because it's me who has to be with him, not her.

Other unorthodox songs threatened escape or a marriage "in the woods without a priest." Sometimes the woman would chide the king for taking the country's youth:

Vittorio Emanuele, what are you doing?
You want all the best of the youth,
And what will you do with the old ones?

During the Risorgimento *stornelli* took on patriotic sentiments, altering the character of the Tuscan folk song. One of the best known was the one which followed the Tuscan volunteers as they marched to the field of battle when the cause of Italian unity hung in the balance:

Farewell, farewell, my fair one!
The army goes on its way,
If I did not march with it,
I would be a coward.[123]

While it is tempting to conjecture that the women in Lega's painting sing a patriotic *stornello*, the precise nature of their song is less important than the way they are portrayed singing it.

This is no Pre-Raphaelite morality play or Impressionist moment of carefree abandon; it is a vision of Italian femininity on the threshold of independence. The three women stand by an open window which looks out to the distant fields and hills — a contrast between nature and the civilized refinement of the impeccably groomed women and the fashionable interior. The precise detail of the costumes, the carpeting, the piano, and the sheet music suggest a distinct photographic source and reinforce the contrast between the room and the fields. The bright, clear light that streams in dissolves the membranous wall separating inner and outer realms and suggests future possibilities. The private but exclusive space they command at

Fig. 20 — Silvestro Lega, *Singing the Stornello*

present expands into the wild and potentially hostile realm beyond.

Lega's *Il Pergolato (The Trellis)* (1868) (cat no. 116) is set in a typical villa garden with a trellis walk. The long pergola formed the shady arbor which offered respite from the afternoon heat and was the place where hosts and their guests took refreshments. The *pergola* was the symbolic focus of villa life, the symbol of leisure; the real labor in the sun was left to the peasants. The dynamic between work and leisure is the dominant motif in Lega's painting. The central figure under the arbor turns her head at the approach of the young female servant who strides in from the right carrying a pot of tea. Her abrupt reaction is emphasized by the profile silhouette of her body and frontally turned head. This establishes an unusual tension, reinforced by the arrangement of the trellises and the low wall on which the central woman sits. The composition follows a steplike pattern, echoed by the disposition of the women. The tension between the hostess and her domestic is as much social as it is formal; a gap is established between the classes. The upper-class woman's facial expression, with its mingled expectation and self-consciousness, is countered by the confident and self-contained look and posture of the servant. Indeed, the servant's bearing is as regal as that of her mistress, and Lega carefully aligns their heads at the same level.

Again, the general compositional movement carries the social theme; the women are organized around the angular pergola structure leading to the approaching servant and then back again along the diagonal leading past the mother and child into the fields beyond. The child motif, which became increasingly important to Lega in the next decade, is crucial here as a harbinger of Italy's future. Thus the path from the trellis, the barest of thresholds between villa and field, follows along the social trajectory of emancipation and equality promised by the Risorgimento. Lega, however, consistent with Macchiaioli verism, advances this idea without flourish or fanfare, subtly incorporating it into a scene of an everyday Tuscan upper-class life.

*La visita (The Visit)* (1868) (cat. no. 117) struck Cecioni as an intimate expression of Tuscan life. He emphasized Lega's characterization of the life and physical environment in and around Florence, another affirmation of the close connection between Macchiaioli landscapes and national life. In this case, however, Lega ruthlessly dissects the formality of bourgeois life by showing a rather chilly greeting of visiting friends. Certainly, the scene would differ little from similar ones in Victorian London or pre-Freud Vienna, but Lega puts this chill into his treatment of the figures and into the landscape itself. The hostess greets twin sisters who line up mechanically to receive their kiss on the cheek, while their mother trails behind and looms almost threateningly in the background. The gray, overcast light and barren trees suggest a time in late autumn, and the melancholy evoked by the landscape resonates with the cool reception. The rigidity of the sisters under the ever-watchful eyes of their mother underscores the type of control exterted over women in nineteenth-century Italian society.

This control is the theme of Lega's satirical *I promessi sposi (The Betrothed)* (1869) (cat. no. 119), exhibited at the 1869 Promotrice in Florence. Executed in the Macchiaioli panorama format, it shows a betrothed couple strolling arm-in-arm across a field while a female relative trails closely behind. Chaperons were a fact of everyday life, and no unmarried woman left home without one. Any young woman who walked out with her betrothed unaccompanied by a duenna would have been the subject of much comment by watchful neighbors. A girl could not walk with a boy alone without risk to her reputation; a powerful escort of sisters or friends stayed by their side whenever they promenaded or talked together inside. Not even casual flirting was permitted, for mothers, aunts, and duennas made certain that the young woman never evaded strict surveillance.

Lega, however, sees the chaperon custom with a somewhat wry sense of humor. The couple are clearly in love, and their chaperon reacts anxiously to her child who stops to pick flowers, preventing her from keeping up with the betrothed. The title was taken from Alessandro Manzoni's popular novel of the same name (1837), and is clearly meant to be satirical. The obstacle of Lega's duenna is a rather mild hardship to suffer compared to the agonizing trials and tribulations of Manzoni's ill-fated pair — even though the story has a happy ending. Lega also wished to give his subject a happy ending and painted the couple in a separate picture without their assiduous chaperon (fig. 21).

In the following decades Lega's views took a conservative turn, probably reflecting his disillusionment with the slow progress of the Risorgimento and its failures. In his last years, Lega's hero Mazzini expressed sad disappointment with the new Italy. Lega's later work depicts family life as it revolved around childhood, depicting children dressing up as adults in play, and mothers and grandmothers teaching children to read and write (cat. nos. 146 and 149). Thus his center of social gravity shifted to an emphasis on the domestic and maternal realms.

A parallel to Lega's emphasis on childhood may be found in the writings of Carlo Lorenzini (1826-1890), better known by his pen name, Collodi. Collodi was one of the regular clients of the Caffè Michelangiolo and a friend to the Macchiaioli (he even entitled one of his writings *"Macchiette"* — "Little Patches"). An enthusiastic supporter of the Risorgimento, he was one of the Tuscan volunteers in 1848 and 1859. He worked for a time on Ricasoli's newspaper and reviewed

Fig. 21 — Silvestro Lega, *The Engaged Couple*

the competition results with great enthusiasm.[124] However, in the 1860s he, like Lega, Mazzini, and many others, became profoundly disillusioned with the failure of the Piedmontese government to create the society promised by the Risorgimento. Weary of adult promises and compromises, he took it upon himself to appeal to children, to future Italian generations. He began writing children's stories to indoctrinate a younger generation with the solid virtues and character traits required to build the ideal society.

Collodi's most popular work was *Pinocchio,* first published in serial form in 1880 and then as a book three years later. As everyone knows, *Pinocchio* tells the story of a mischievous marionette who longs to be a real child but whose bad habits keep him confined to a subhuman state. At last, after demonstrating his "humanity" and virtuous side, he is rewarded by being transformed into a real, live boy. Pinocchio was in fact an allegory of recent Italian history. His successive metamorphoses follow the evolution of the oppressed Italian adult, from a marionette forced to dance to the tune of others, to a donkey (for nineteenth-century Italian caricaturists a favorite symbol of those who followed Church doctrine blindly) forced to submit to malevolent institutions, to an independent and socially responsible personality. Collodi's puppet was formed from a piece of scrub pine (hence the origin of the name) and realized as a human — the symbolic passage from an embryonic *macchia* to a "finished" production. Whether Disney knew it or not, Pinocchio was a *macchiaiolo* metaphor for the incomplete Risorgimento and a prayer for its fulfillment through a new morality.

Lega and Collodi were not the only ones in the Macchiaioli circle to show acute psychological insight into the issues of childhood and the status of women. Borrani's *L'analfabeta (The Illiterate)* (1869) (cat. no. 105) like Lega's *The Trellis,* depicts a tense relationship between a woman and her female domestic. The mistress of the household is evidently writing a letter for her servant, who is unable to read or write. The maid is shy and slightly embarrassed, however, in being dependent on her mistress for what must be an intimate note. She has to expose herself and her thoughts to the mistress, and most likely the person for whom the letter is destined will need someone to read it. Thus the most private feelings and thoughts of a servant often were monitored by the same person who controlled the domestic domain. In a sense, illiterates had their patrons write their letters in exchange for devotion and loyalty. But the effect of this, as Borrani suggests, was a form of humiliation akin to religious confession.

The high level of illiteracy throughout the peninsula was a major embarrassment to the leaders of the new Italian union.[125] Mazzini had made education one of the principal planks of his social platform. For him, education had the potential of making all the people of one nation feel like brothers and sisters, of taking them out of the isolation and dependence in which they found themselves, of making possible the full development of their faculties, and of overcoming the condition of social inferiority in which so many of them were condemned to live. This education was to be supplied by the state; it was to be public, free, and of a uniform high quality. But the Risorgimento could not live up to Mazzini's dreams. Although the Casati Law of 1859 required two years' compulsory education, teachers were not available and funding fell upon local taxpayers, who resisted it. Therefore, in one sense Borrani's *Illiterate* points up the failings of the Risorgimento and the ever-decreasing role of the people in public policy decisions.

Borrani's painting also introduces an ironic element by way of the framed picture by Signorini hanging on the wall at the right. The Macchiaioli often added ironic touches to their paintings, and Signorini himself wrote in an ironic vein and was an inveterate punster. Here, however, Borrani uses the Signorini to show group solidarity and to keep attention focused on the Tuscan milieu which supported their efforts. Signorini, no less than Lega and Borrani, approached his themes of women and men in a broad sociological context. His *La sala delle agitate a S. Bonifazio di Firenze (The Women's Mental Ward at San Bonifazio, Florence)* (1865) (cat. no. 154) is one of the few shocking pictures of the Macchiaioli, but more shocking for its subject than for his treatment of it. How far removed it is on the one hand from the virginal, motherly, reassuring women in most early nineteenth-century painting and, on the other, from the fin-de-siècle attacks on the female gender! Signorini shuns the stereotype of women's social roles and appearances in order to expose some of the results of female oppression in Italian society.

Analogous to the central female in *The Venice Ghetto* is the immobile, seemingly transfixed woman in the foreground who establishes the atmosphere of the asylum. Her alienation is thrown all the more in relief by the lofty interior space and light walls which isolate the inmates and give a frozen, barren look to the room. Some women stare straight ahead, others are collapsed on the floor or squat in the doorway, while still others sit on wooden benches. Only one woman breaks the spell of torpidity, raising her arm and shouting in defiance of her mental prison. These women are the victims of a patriarchal society which reduced them to non-entities and deprived them of liberty of choice and action, both de facto and de jure.

These were the years of clamor for penal reform and hygienic and sanitary codes for civil institutions. Hospitals and asylums came under more direct state supervision, but social legislation in this respect was paltry. It is paintings such as Signorini's *Women's Mental Ward;* his *Bagno penale di Portoferraio (The Portoferraio Penitentiary)* (1894), showing well-dressed inspectors accompanied by prison guards examining inmates in a lineup; and his *La toilette del mattino (The Morning Toilette)* (1898) (cat. no. 163), showing the interior of a brothel early in the morning, that attest to the artist's identification with reformers such as A.J.B. Parent-Duchatelet, the French sociologist who devoted himself to a study of Parisian prostitution, and Cesare Lombroso, the famous pioneer of criminal anthropology who served as physician and psychiatrist in Turin's prisons and mental hospitals. Lombroso's empirical methods, exemplified in such writings as *Genio e follia (Genius and Madness)* (1864) and *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale (The Delinquent Woman, the Prostitute and the Normal Woman)* (1893), contributed to the institutional reforms that were effected later in the century. Signorini's sociological paintings refer to actual locations, the first to a specific asylum, the second to the main prison on the island of Elba (always a favorite Italian location for captives, including Napoleon and Guerrazzi), and the third to a notorious brothel on the Via Lontan Morti in the Mercato Vecchio section of Florence. Again, the absence of drama and the unpretentious compositions are consistent with the Macchiaioli aesthetic and convey the air of contemporary photogra-

phy. The women in the brothel fix their hats, chat, and prepare to go shopping or perhaps even return to their homes to live out their "normal" lives.[126] Signorini depicts the prostitutes in such a pure morning light and at such a casual moment that it is hard to believe the work was painted in a period dominated by male fears and fantasies about women, many of which took form in popular literature and art as satanic femmes fatales. And it was a far cry from the hysterical anti-woman crusade of the next generation of Italian avant-garde painters, the Futurists, whose founding manifesto of 1909 promised to fight feminism and uphold "scorn for women."

## THE CAFFE MICHELANGIOLO

Telemaco Signorini's *Caricaturisti e caricaturati al Caffè Michelangiolo (Caricaturists and the Caricatured at the Caffè Michelangiolo)*, published in 1893, but based on a series of articles written in 1866-67 is considered the bible of the Macchiaioli movement; in many ways its contents justify the claim.[127] On the surface, it appears to be a gossipy compendium which recreates the rowdy atmosphere of the popular cafe located at 41-43 Via Larga (now 21 Via Cavour and housing the Caffè New York) and documents the behavior of its lively clientele. Interspersed through its anecdotal accounts are caricatures of the clients, many of whom were Macchiaioli. As Signorini attempts to conjure up the old scene out of the dust of the past, he makes a precious contribution to social history. For underlying its seemingly disjointed accounts, humorous sallies, songs, and random remarks is a coherent theme which gives the whole a remarkable structure. From its opening page to its last the booklet reflects the group's response to the Risorgimento — its promises, its disappointments, and its failures.

Signorini's work in fact winds up confessing to the failure of moderate liberalism which the group espoused in the interests of a united Italy. He begins with an epigraph drawn from Massimo D'Azeglio's autobiography, *I miei ricordi (Things I Remember)* (1867): "Quite often I see at once the ridiculous side of serious matters, and the serious side of ridiculous matters." Signorini uses this citation to justify the caricatural material of his work, as well as to hint at its historical and nostalgic significance. But at the same time this borrowing from D'Azeglio declares a spiritual bond between two generations of intellectuals, united in their dreams for Italian nationhood.

Signorini and his friends admired D'Azeglio for having celebrated the indigenous landscape and having lent support to their aims in *I miei ricordi.*:

> We love independence and nationalism, we love Italy; further, the landscape painters all chant together "Rome or death," but when they take up their brushes, the only thing they don't paint is Italy. The magnificent Italian landscape, the glorious light, the rich hues of the sky over our heads and the earth we tread; no one considers these things worthy of being painted. Go to exhibitions and what do we see? A scene from the north of France, imitation of so and so; a seascape at Etretat or Honfleur, imitation of someone else; a heath in Flanders, a wood at Fontainebleau, copied from God knows whom! . . . They prefer a nature without a soul, without character, weak and tempered like a muted violin. For this they renounce Italy, her sky and the beauty which once brought so many enemies into our land, but which today, thank God, brings only friends who never tire of acclaiming it.[128]

Written in the early 1860s, this passage demonstrates the existence of a patriotic landscape ideal, and substantiates the links between the Risorgimento and cultural production. That it was written by a social conservative who wielded immense political power underscores the contradictions inherent in the context in which the ideas of the Macchiaioli unfolded.

An unspoken manifesto is carefully mapped out by Signorini, beginning with the first page. As Norma Broude suggests, Signorini's book develops against the background of Risorgimento wars and political events.[129] The entire text is interspersed with memories of the critical episodes and the key actors. As he introduces us to the favorite haunt of the Macchiaioli, Signorini notes that after the restoration of the grand duke in the spring of 1849 the Caffè Michelangiolo "gathered almost all of the painters who had participated in the campaign of Lombardy in 1848 and in the defense of Venice, Bologna and Rome in 1849." Its fortunes thrived for nearly twenty years, until around 1867, when Signorini wrote his first account of the cafe for Il *Gazzettino delle arti del disegno,* and included the second generation which took part in the Garibaldi and Piedmontese campaigns of 1859-61. These campaigns recur like a leitmotif throughout the booklet, often with a note of pathos when associated with colleagues who have fallen in battle.

Signorini's list of the cafe's clients reads like a Risorgimento litany: Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, the romantic novelist and head of the Tuscan government prior to the grand duke's restoration in 1849; Giuseppe Dolfi, the chief organizer of the insurrection of April 27, 1859; and his more reluctant allies Bartolommei and Ricasoli, who were ultimately swept along by his success. Early on, Signorini informs us of the breathtaking episode of April 27 and the flight of the grand duke, and finally of the collaboration of Dolfi and Ricasoli in bringing about union with Piedmont. Signorini informs us later of his own support for annexation; at a performance of Giovanni Niccolini's *Arnaldo da Brescia* in 1860 he distributed pamphlets by Dolfi urging the people to vote for union.

The last section of Signorini's booklet is a sad recounting of the changes in Florence after the National Exposition of 1861, and of the transformation of the city into the capital of Italy four years later. The old gang began to break up and the cafe underwent changes, probably in response to the new clientele brought into the city by the change in its national status. Signorini notes that many of the painters, including the De Tivolis, D'Ancona, De Nittis, and Zandomeneghi, were disgusted with politics and went abroad to Paris and London. Nostalgically, he recalls his dear friends Abbati and Sernesi and others who died in the wars or from tragic circumstances, and by the final pages the echoes of the laughter of other times has vanished and his mood has shifted abruptly from satire and irony to lamentation and regret.

Signorini confesses that these recollections of his friends and their ideals come back to him only at certain moments, especially

> during a beautiful autumn morning, or on a balmy spring day, or in a winter mist, or amid the sultry passions and strident song of the harvest-time crickets, when it happens that I climb alone the smiling hills of memories which crown our city; or stroll along the fields and gardens populated with farmhouses and villas, along the banks of the Mugnone or the Arno, the Mensola or the Affrico, and come upon a small grassy area, off

> to the side and in the shade; then, having put down my old paint box, the faithful custodian of my personal impressions, inseparable companion of my distant voyages and nearby excursions, I lie down on my back next to it, and gazing intently at the profound blue of the heavens, I return with my thoughts to the past, now having become more significant to me than the future! . . . And my entire past unfolds, not only its mad joys and its daring undertakings, but also its profound sadnesses and its infinite vexations. . . .[130]

Suddenly, in this moving passage, the long string of seemingly random recollections and anecdotal accounts come into sharp focus, making meaningful the historical details interspersed throughout the text. What Signorini reveals in this next-to-the-last paragraph is the profound relationship between landscape and the unfolding of the Risorgimento. The landscape impressions are inseparable in his mind from his native Tuscany, and the high points of his life come back to him when he remembers the sites depicted by the Macchiaioli. The passage culminates with the mood of pessimism common to many of the participants in the Risorgimento, but it is compensated for by the positive reminiscences of a time when art and life were inseparable from one's ideals and aspirations.

Signorini's final paragraph evokes the memory of all his friends of the glorious past and concludes with verses from Giacomo Leopardi's autobiographical poem *Le Ricordanze (The Memories)* (1829):

> It is left to others
> To pass over the earth today
> And dwell awhile among these hills.[131]

Nevertheless, Signorini holds on to the souvenirs of his youth, the loves and hates, the doubts and hopes, the laughter implied by the caricature, the tears born of the remembrances of those loved and lamented. By closing *Caricaturists* with this romantic evocation of Leopardi, Signorini affirmed an intellectual link to that side of the Risorgimento that Mazzini relegated to an outworn tradition, but simultaneously willed his memories of collective action to succeeding generations with the hope of keeping the struggle alive.

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*NOTES*

1. For the school of Posillipo see Raffaello Causa, *La Scuola di Posillipo* (Milan, 1967).
2. *Cultura neoclassica e romantica nella toscana granducale. Sfortuna dell'Accademia* (Florence: Centro Di, 1972), nos. 6-7.
3. *Catalogo delle opere ammesse nelle sale della Società promotrice delle belle arti in Firenze per la solenne esposizione dell'anno 1853* (Florence, 1853), 3.
4. It could have been otherwise: Mark Twain lived at the Villa Viviani at Settignano and claimed that the view from his terrace overlooking Florence seemed like "the most enchanting. . .picture on our planet." Ishbel Ross, *The Expatriots* (New York, 1970), 217.
5. See the translations of these articles in Emilio Cecchi and Mario Borgiotti, *The "Macchiaioli"* (Florence, 1963), 25-31. In the English edition the date of Signorini's first article has been erroneously changed from 19 October to "10 October" 1862.
6. Dario Durbé, *Fattori e la scuola di Castiglioncello* (Florence, 1982-1983), 2:46. Martelli had been reading La *Nuova Europa* since 1861, and wrote that he enjoyed its radicalism since it did not rail against the government in a hostile manner.
7. See the editorial "Non ho trovato un maestro e sono ministeriale," *Gazzetta del Popolo*, 8 November 1862.
8. Alberto Maria Fortuna, *Il Gazzettino delle arti del disegno di Diego Martelli 1867* (Florence, 1968), 214.
9. Giovanni Fattori, *Scritti autobiografici, editi e inediti*, ed. Francesca Errico (Rome, 1980), 25.
10. Ibid., 32.
11. Alessandro Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside* (Austin, 1980), 20.
12. Olivia Rossetti Agresti, *Giovanni Costa, His Life, Work and Times* (London, 1904), 67.
13. Thomas Frost, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776-1876*, 1:213, 218.
14. Frost, 1:217; *Memorie sulle società segrete dell'Italia meridionale e specialmente sui Carbonari*, trans. Anna Maria Cavallotti (Rome and Milan, 1904), 31, 37, 39-40, 66.
15. A. Marabottini and V. Quercioli, *Diego Martelli, corrispondenza inedita* (Rome, 1978), 20, 61.
16. Benedetto Croce, "Una teoria della 'macchia'," *Problemi di estetica* (Bari, 1910), 240-241.
17. Ibid., 245
18. Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism* (Chicago/London, 1984), 73.
19. For the progressives of the Risorgimento, however, art could not be understood apart from social history. Mazzini wrote that with us "Art is eminently a social manifestation, an element of collective development inseparable from the play of all the other elements which together form that stock of life in whence the Artist, consciously or not, draws his mission. . ." Giuseppe Mazzini, "Modern Italian Painters," *Westminister Review*, vol. 35, 1841, 185.
20. An invaluable source for this subject is Sandra Pinto, *Romanticismo Storico* (Florence, 1973).
21. Raffaele Crampini, *Il '59 in Toscana* (Florence, 1958), 172; Giuseppe Cesare Abba, *The Diary of One of Garibaldi's Thousand*, trans. E.R. Vincent (London, 1962), 26, 35-36, 38, 42, 48, 70.
22. Massimo D'Azeglio, *Things I Remember*, trans. E.R. Vincent, (London, 1966), 311.
23. Massimo D'Azeglio, *Ettor Fieramosca* (Boston, 1959), 55.
24. D'Azeglio, *Things I Remember*, Preface.
25. Massimo D'Azeglio, *Florence Betrayed, or the Last Days of the Republic (Niccolò de' Lapi)* (Boston, 1886) 182, 233.
26. Maria Cristina Gozzoli and Fernando Mazzicca, *Hayez* (Milan, 1983), nos. 43, 102.
27. Ibid., no. 45. For the earlier version Hayez was asked to incorporate portraits of the patron's entourage in the work including the liberal Pompeo Belgioioso. See Francesco Hayez, *Le mie memorie* (Milan, 1890), 57.
28. Michele Amari, *History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers* (London, 1850), 1:180ff.
29. Quoted in *Garibaldi, Arte e Storia* (Florence: Centro Di, 1982), 1:145.
30. Vera and Dario Durbé, *La giovinezza di Fattori* (Rome, 1980), 305. The composition of the work was notably influenced by the *Cromwell and Charles I* of Paul Delaroche, a French painter the young Macchiaioli admired.
31. Telemaco Signorini, *Caricaturisti e caricaturati al Caffè Michelangiolo* (Florence, 1952), 88.
32. *Exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris, 1855), nos. 2135-2136. D'Ancona showed *L'Abandonnée*, a subject Cabianca would paint three years later.
33. M. Nobili and S. Camerani, *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, 1939 *et passim*, 7:274, 283.
34. W.K. Hancock, *Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany* (New York, 1969), 34.
35. *Catalogo illustrativo delle opere de pittura, disegni, incisioni ed altri ogetti di belle arti ammessi alla prima Esposizione Italiana de 1861 in Firenze* (Florence, 1861), no. 908.
36. Theodosia Trollope, *Social Aspects of The Italian Revolution* (London, 1861), 30-34. This is a valuable eye-witness source for Florentine social history in this period by the correspondent for the English journal *The Athenaeum*.
37. Lamberto Vitali, *Lettere dei Macchiaioli* (Turin, 1953), 33.
38. Ibid., 212-213.
39. Dario Durbé, *I Macchiaioli* (Florence, 1976), 81, no. 22.
40. Signorini, 174-175.
41. Trollope, *Social Aspects*, 124-126.
42. Bulletins announcing the contest and reporting its progress were first published in the official newspaper *(Il Monitore Toscano)* and then reprinted in Ricasoli's journal, *La Nazione*. The original decree signed by Ricasoli and Ridolfi on 23 September 1859, was published on the 24th in the former and on the 25th in the latter. See also "Programma per concorso nazionale alle opere d'arte che il Governo della Toscana statuiva allegarsi per conto dello Stato col Decreto del 23 settembre 1859," *Monitore Toscano* (18 October 1859); *La Nazione* (19 October 1859); "Belle Arti," *Monitore Toscane*, 25 February 1860 (announcing the gathering of the jury); the "Atti Governativi" posting the final results posted in *Monitore Toscano* (12 May 1860); *La Nazione* (14 May 1860).
43. Ibid.
44. Fattori, 104.
45. Raymond Williams, *Culture* (Glasgow, 1981), 83ff.
46. See the slightly differing versions in Agresti, *Giovanni Costa*, 95-96; Giovanni Costa, *Quel che vidi e quel intesi* (Milan, 1927), 141. Also Fattori, 92.
47. Nancy Jane Gray Troyer, "The Macchiaioli: Effects of Modern Color Theory, Photography, and Japanese Prints on a Group of Italian Painters, 1855-190O," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1978, Chapter V.
48. See "Un dessinateur de L'Illustration sur le champ de Bataille de Magenta," *L'Illustration*, 33 (18 June 1859): 438.
49. Henry Jouin, *Adolphe Yvon* (Paris, 1893), 44.
50. Jean-Henri Dunant, *Un souvenir de Solferino* (Geneva, 1862); "Il servizio sanitario internazionale in tempo di guerra," *Annuario scientifico ed industriale* (Milan, 1864) 1:232-233.
51. *Garibaldi, Arte e storia*, 172, no. 5.6.1.
52. See *Esposizione italiana tenuta in Firenze nel 1861*, 3 vols., ed. Francesco Protonotari (Florence, 1864-1867); *La Esposizione italiana del 1861. Giornale con incisione*, ed. Andrea Bettini (Florence, 1862); *Catalogo illustrativo delle opere de pittura, disegni, incisioni et altri eggetti di belle arti ammessi alla prima Esposizione italiana de 1861 in Firenze*, Florence, 1861; Barbara Cinelli (Firenze 1861); "Anomalie di una esposizione," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 18 (1982):21-36.
53. Denis Mack Smith, *Italy: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, 1959), 36.
54. "L'esposizione Italie," *La Nuova Europa* (10 July 1861).
55. *Rapporto della pubblica esposizione dei prodotti di arti e manifatture Toscane eseguita nel settembre 1841* (Florence, 1841), p.v.
56. Protonotari, 1:148, 152, 154.
57. Ibid "Documenti " no. LXXI, XXII.
58. Ibid., 3:283.
59. Ibid., 286.
60. *Catalogo illustrativo*, nos. 664, 714.
61. Trollope, *Social Aspects*, 250ff.
62. Ibid., 168; Nobili and Camerani, 10:376.

63. "La Esposizione," *La Nuova Europa* (2 February 1862).
64. Denis Mack Smith, *Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento* (London, 1971), 121.
65. Elio Conti, *Le origini del socialismo a Firenze (1860-1880)* (Rome, 1950), 42, 44ff.
66. Protonotari, 2:123, 167, 192.
67. Piero Dini and Dario Durbé, *Contributo a Borrani* (Rome, 1981), 63-4.
68. Troyer, 139.
69. Protonotari, "Documenti," 1:LX, 2:469-474; E.C., "Le Fotografie," *La Esposizione italiana del 1861* (4 October 1861); "Fotografie. Ritratti per ingrandimento," (7 November 1861); "De'Ritratti in fotografia," (10 March 1862); "Fotografie rappresentanti monumenti," (15 July 1862); "Fotografia," (5 August 1862).
70. Pietro Selvatico, "L'Arte insegnate nelle Accademie secondo le norme scientifiche," *Atti dell'Imp. Reg.: Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia per la distribuzione dei premii nel giorno 8 agosto 1852* (Venice, 1852), 24ff.
71. Durbé, *Fattori e la scuola di Castiglioncello*, 2:57-58.
72. Nobile and Camerini, 12:63.
73. This is evident from the owners of the works listed in the *Catalogo illustrativo*.
74. Protonotari, "Documenti," 1:viii, 2:1, 196, 3:1
75. For the D'Anconas see Flora Aghib Levi D'Ancona, *La giovinezza dei fratelli D'Ancona* (Rome, 1982).
76. Fattori, 75, 77; Dario Durbé and Cristina Bonagura, *Fattori da Magenta a Montebello* (Rome, 1983), 297ff.
77. See Livorno, Municipal Archives, Minutes of the City Council dated 27 February 1871.
78. Protonotari, 2:134, 142, 204, 361, 486, 206, 217.
79. Durbé, *Fattori e la scuola di Castiglioncello*, 1:182ff.; Mack Smith, 103ff.
80. I have found very useful for my understanding of the *mezzadria* system the essays in John A. Davis, ed., *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution* (New York, 1979).
81. Cited by Frank M. Snowden, "From Sharecropper to Proletarian: The Background to Fascism in Rural Tuscany, 1880-1920," *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*, 137.
82. Carlo Pazzagli, "Prime note per una biografia del Barone Ricasoli," *Ricasoli e il suo tempo*, ed. Giovanni Spadolini (Florence, 1981), 270ff.
83. See Giovanni Spadolini's preface to *Agricoltura e società nella Maremma Grossetana dell'800* (Florence, 1980), ix. This book is invaluable for information on the history and development of the Maremma.
84. Antonio Salvagnoli-Marchetti, *Memorie economico-statistiche sulle Maremme Toscane* (Florence, 1846), 2.
85. See Carlo Martelli, "Esame delle condizioni economiche della strada ferrata Maremmana del Chiarone," in Francesco Guerrazzi, T. Magnani and Carlo Martelli, *Causa relativa alla costruzione delle ferrovie maremmane* (Livorno, 1846), 33ff. Guerrazzi and Magnani also owned property in the Maremma.
86. Piero Dini, *Diego Martelli* (Florence, 1978), 31 ff.; Durbé, *Fattori e la scuola di Castiglioncello* 2:9ff., 19ff.
87. Ildebrande Imperciaderi, "Ricasoli pioniere dell'agricoltura moderna in Maremma." *Agricoltura e società nella Maremma*, 1ff.
88. Nobile and Camerini, 3:301, 322; Giuliana Biagioli, "Vicende e fortuna di Ricasoli imprenditore," *Agricoltura e società nella Maremma*, 96. See also *XII Lettere di Bettino Ricasoli a Sansone D'Ancona* (Massa, 1913), where Ricasoli writes of his plans to cultivate tobacco in the Maremma.
89. Leopoldo Barboni, *Giosuè Carducci e la Maremma*, (Livorno, 1885), 53. The book was dedicated to Ferdinando Martini, the statesman who befriended and encouraged the Macchiaioli painters.
90. The original Italian reads:
Meglio ir tracciando per la sconsolata
Boscaglia al piano il bufolo disperso,
Che salta fra la macchia e sosta e guata. . .
91. Vitali, 170-171.
92. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1868, 1:3ff.
93. *Bollettino*, 2nd series (1878) 3:274.
94. *Bollettino*, 2nd series (1880) 5:596ff.
95. D'Ancona, *La Giovinezza dei fratelli D'Ancona*, 58.
96. For the participation of Jews in the Risorgimento movement see Salvatore Foà, *Gli ebrei nel Risorgimento italiano* (Rome, 1978); Gina Formiggini, *Stella d'Italia, Stella di David: gli ebrei dal Risorgimento alla Resistenza* (Milan, 1970); Attilio Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Turin, 1963), 365; Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), Chap. 9 and 10.
97. Roth, *History of the Jews*, 463; Paul Ginsberg, *Daniele Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-49* (Cambridge, 1979), 73.
98. William Arthur, *Italy in Transition. Public Scenes and Private Opinions in the Spring of 1860* (New York, 1860), 91, 226.
99. Vitali, 113.
100. *Garibaldi, Arte e storia*, 167, no. 5.4.
101. Cited in Milano, 532.
102. Trollope, *Social Aspects*, 52-53, 57, 132-133.
103. Leader Scott, *Tuscan Studies and Sketches* (London, 1888), 254-255.
104. Trollope, "Fine Arts: Florence Exhibition," *The Athenaeum* (19 October 1861): 514-515.
105. Trollope, *Social Aspects*, 18-22.
106. Crampini, *Il '59 in Toscana*, 108-109.
107. Telemaco Signorini and Diego Martelli, *Per Silvestro Lega* (Florence, 1896), 10.
108. Ibid., 18-19.
109. Cited in Mabel Sharman Crawford, *Life in Tuscany* (New York, 1859), 148-150.
110. D'Azeglio, 177.
111. Giuseppe Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, 6 vols. (London, 1891), 4:284-285, 377-378.
112. Ibid., 377-378.
113. See Franca Pieroni Bortolotti, *Alle origini del movimento femminile in Italia 1848-1892* (Turin, 1963); Gianna Pomata, *In scienze e coscienza: donne e potere nella società borghese* (Rome, 1979); Vittorio Cian, "Femminismo patriottico del Risorgimento," *Nuova Antologia* (1 June 1930), 3-32.
114. H. Remsen Whitehouse, *A Revolutionary Princess: Christina Belgioioso-Trivùlzio* (London, 1906); Beth Archer Brombert, *Christina* (New York, 1977).
115. Pomata, 45ff.
116. *La Donna: Foglio settimanale di scienze morali e naturali — di letteratura e arti belle* (Genoa, 4 August 1855.)
117. See the articles on "Rispetti e Stornelli" in *La* Donna (10 24 January, 14 February 1857).
118. Pieroni Bortolotti, 29 and 29n.
119. Verità worked closely with Ricasoli after the 1859 revolution and kept him informed on the events in his region. Nobile and Camerani, 8:292-293, 10:381-382, 403, 11:174-176, 220-221, 13:153-154.
120. See the article by Diego Martelli, "Gli ultimi momenti di G. Mazzini. Quadro del Sig. Silvestro Lega," *I Giornale Artistico* (25 October 1873):124-125.
121. Piero Dini, *Silvestro Lega: gli anni di Piagentina* (Turin, 1984), 17ff.
122. Falassi, 106-124 *et passim*.
123. Ibid.
124. Signorini, 50, 74-76; Nobili and Camerani, 11:310; Marie Giardelli, *Silvestro Lega* (Milan, 1965), 26.
125. See Ottavio Barrie, *L'Italia nel Ottocento*, (Turin, 1964), 270ff., 671ff.
126. For some relevant material on this issue see Laura Giudi, "Prostitute e carcerate a Napoli: Alcune indagini tra fine '800 e inizie '900," *Memoria: rivista di storia delle donne*, No. 4, 1982, 123.
127. See Piero Bargellini, *Caffè Michelangiolo*, (Florence, 1944); Baccio M. Bacci's preface to Signorini, 7-37.
128. D'Azeglio, 164.
129. Norma Freedman Broude, "The Macchiaioli: Academicism and Modernism in Nineteenth Century Italian Painting," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967, 21.
130. Signorini, 186-187.
131. Ibid., 188.

## GIUSEPPE ABBATI

*Naples 1836 — Florence 1868*

Abbati's father, Vincenzo, was a painter of architectural interiors in the style of François-Marius Granet. Around 1846 Abbati's family took him to Venice, where his father, his first teacher, became court painter to the Duchesse de Berry. In 1850 Giuseppe enrolled in the Accademia di Belle Arti. In 1856 he met Signorini and

D'Ancona, who had come to Venice from Florence to study there. In Naples in 1859, he showed two paintings in an exhibition held at the Museo Borbonico: *La Cappella di S. Tommaso d'Aquino in S. Domenico Maggiore (The Chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas in San Domenico Maggiore)* and *Interno di uno studio di pittura (Interior of a Painter's Studio)*. Shortly after participating in Garibaldi's 1860 campaign, in which he lost an eye at the Battle of Capua, Abbati went to Florence. There he was introduced by De Tivoli to the Caffè Michelangiolo and became particularly close to Diego Martelli as well as to Cabianca and Borrani. In 1861 he showed three paintings of church interiors at the first large National Exposition in Florence; he refused to accept official recognition, however, because he joined the group of artists that protested the conservative bias of the jury.

During this period, Abbati became acquainted with the first experiments of the Macchiaioli. He devoted himself with particular interest to the study of the white tonalities in the cloisters of Santa Croce, which were being restored at that time. At the same time, he began to paint from nature, visiting Castiglioncello in the summer months as a guest of Martelli. Here he executed works which were similar in subject matter and style to the contemporary work of Borrani and Sernesi. In 1862 he worked with Lega, Borrani, Sernesi, and Signorini in the open countryside. With these artists he founded the so-called Piagentina "school," and soon made his mark as one of the most important individual painters in the group. In the summer of 1862 he followed Garibaldi a second time, participating in the expedition that ended in the Aspromonte disaster. In the following years he exhibited at the Promotrice in Turin (1863-1864), in Venice (1865-1866), and at the Società d'incoraggiamento in Florence. In 1866 he took part in the military campaign in the Veneto, and was taken prisoner and sent to Croatia.

After his release he lived in retirement in a little village near Castiglioncello, Castelnuovo della Misericordia, not far from the estate of Diego Martelli. Abbati worked intensely in the solitude of his voluntary retreat, where his artistic personality came to maturity. He was bitten by a rabid dog in 1867 and died on February 21, 1868.

## CRISTIANO BANTI

*Santa Croce sull'Arno 1824 — Montemurlo 1904*

Banti attended the Accademia di Belle Arti in Siena from 1842 to 1850. He then moved to Florence and around 1855 made contact with the artists frequenting the Caffè Michelangiolo. There Banti became friends with Signorini, Cecioni, Cabianca, and later, Boldini.

His painting, *Galileo Galilei davanti*

*al tribunale dell' Inquisizione (Galileo Galilei before the Inquisition Tribunal)*, which made his reputation in the academic world, but which he later renounced, dates from 1857, as does his *In Chiesa (In Church)*. These two works were typical of the historical painting produced in Florence between 1855 and 1860. During this period Banti met Edgar Degas, who was in Florence at that time, and admired the *La famille Bellelli (Bellelli Family)* painting on which Degas was then working. The land and villas that Banti owned at Montorsoli and in the countryside at Montemurlo were a frequent and pleasant resort for his painter friends. He soon became attracted to the first studies made from nature by Signorini and Cabianca in the Macchiaioli style. With the two of them at first, and later with Borrani, he worked in 1860 and 1861 in Liguria and Tuscany.

In 1861 he went to Paris with Cabianca and Signorini, where he saw numerous works by Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps and was taken to the studios of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Constant Troyon. Because of his independent means and his refined sensibility, Banti quickly became the generous patron of his painter friends, forming a rich collection of important works by all the Macchiaioli and other Italian artists. This collection was unfortunately broken up after his death. After 1870, he lived in his various country houses in Tuscany, although he remained in touch with the Florentine artistic circles. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1887 to found a journal that would devote itself exclusively to art, he made several trips to Paris and London. In 1884 he became a professor at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence and served as a member of the commission responsible for the reorganization of the Uffizi. He spent his last years quietly in retreat at a villa in Montemurlo.

## GIOVANNI BOLDINI

*Ferrara 1842 — Paris 1931*

Boldini began to paint under the guidance of his father, a modest painter and restorer. In 1862 he went to Florence, where he enrolled in the Accademia di Belle Arti. The single most important factor in his artistic training, however, was his connection with the painters of the Caffè Michelangiolo. Here his principal friend-

ships were with Signorini, Michele Gordigiani, already an established portrait painter, and Banti, whom he often visited at his villa in the Tuscan countryside.

His contacts with the Macchiaioli influenced his pictorial style, and gave him an interest in painting from nature. However, he continued to prefer portraiture to landscape painting. He went to Paris in 1867 to visit the Universal Exposition and admired the works of Gustave Courbet and Edouard Manet; he also met Edgar Degas, with whom he established a lifelong friendship. Returning to Italy, he exhibited his works publicly for the first time at the Florence Promotrice of 1867, and earned the somewhat guarded praise of Signorini. In 1870 he went to London as the guest of an English patron of the arts, Colonel William Cornwallis-West; there he began to make a name for himself as a portrait painter of high society. By 1871, Boldini had moved to Paris, signed a lucrative contract with the noted art dealer Goupil, and begun successfully painting genre scenes as well as views of the squares and bridges of Paris. His fame as a painter was due above all, however, to his portraits of members of Parisian high society. In 1876 he went to Holland, where he studied the work of Frans Hals; as a result of his interest in Hals, he broke further away from the Macchiaioli "school." Boldini opted instead for a virtuoso style of painting, marked by concise and dynamic brushwork, in which the subject tended to dissolve into coloristic impressions.

Although he retained his warm friendships with his Florentine friends, especially Signorini and Banti, by the 1880s Boldini no longer left Paris except for brief trips to Florence and elsewhere in Europe. In 1889, when he was named commissioner of the Italian section of the Paris Exposition, he invited Signorini and D'Ancona to come work with him. In that same year he and Degas went to Spain together; there they admired the works of Francisco José de Goya, Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in Madrid. In 1895, 1903, 1905, and 1912 he exhibited his work at the Venice Biennale. He also had a successful show at the Wildenstein Gallery in New York in 1897. Although his late works suffer from a repetitive quality, pictures such as *Visioni di Spiaggia (Visions of the Beach)* (1910) and *Vedute di Venezia (Views of Venice)* (1911), are among his best.

## ODOARDO BORRANI

*Pisa 1832 — Florence 1905*

When his family moved to Florence from Pisa around 1849, Borrani was sent by his father to serve as an apprentice in the workshop of Gaetano Bianchi, a well-known restorer and the discoverer of the Giotto frescoes in Santa Croce. In 1851 he enrolled at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence. In 1853 he met Signorini and

went with him to paint from nature in the Tuscan countryside (he later accompanied Cabianca on a similar trip). At this time his style was not very different from that of the so-called Staggia school, led by De Tivoli. By 1855, he had become a regular visitor to the Caffè Michelangiolo. That same year, while still a pupil of Bianchi, he participated in the annual competition at the Accademia. Shortly thereafter, however, he abandoned his formal studies with Bianchi, and turned instead to painting from nature. In 1856 Enrico Pollastrini urged him to participate in the Triennale Competition at the Academy; he was subsequently awarded a gold medal for *Congiura dei Pazzi (The Pazzi Conspiracy)*. In 1859, he enlisted as a volunteer in the Tuscan artillery corps, together with Signorini, Cecioni, Diego Martelli, and other members of the Caffè Michelangiolo set.

In 1861, at the end of the war, he went with Banti, Signorini, and Stanislao Pointeau to Montelupo (near Signa), and later spent two months with Sernesi at San Marcello Pistoiese, where he painted numerous studies of the surrounding countryside. Two of these landscapes were shown at the 1861 National Exposition in Florence, along with the painting *Il 26 aprile 1859 (The 26th of April 1859)*. The latter painting represents the eve of Grand Duke Leopold's flight from Tuscany, and shows a young woman sewing the tricolor flag of the new Italian state. In the years that followed, probably beginning around 1863, Borrani sketched from nature, along with Signorini, Abbati, Sernesi, and especially Lega; this practice led to the founding of the so-called Piagentina "school." It was, for Borrani, a period of great creativity and concentration, when his work explored a new use of light and the portrayal of refined domestic scenes.

Meanwhile, as a guest (along with Abbati and Sernesi) of Martelli at Castiglioncello, he painted some of his masterpieces. The creation of the Castiglioncello group, joined by Fattori in 1867, dates from the mid-1860s, a crucial period in the development of the Macchiaioli movement. With the works painted at Castiglioncello and in the Piagentina area, Borrani assumed a leading role in shaping the second phase of the Macchiaioli style; a new interest in the use of light found its proper framework in the elegant compositional structures of the Purist Tuscan tradition. Together with Lega, he opened an art gallery in 1876 which was intended to encourage new trends in Italian and foreign painting. Unfortunately, this venture soon failed. Borrani later supported himself by starting his own private art school.

He had some success in Rome at the 1883 National Exhibition. Between 1883 and 1887 he painted at San Rossore and Rimini. He spent his last years in poverty, living off the meager earnings that came from his teaching, as well as from his work as an illustrator of *Illustrazione Italiana* and as a decorator of ceramics.

## VINCENZO CABIANCA

*Verona 1827 — Rome 1902*

Cabianca was already a student at the Accademia Cignaroli in his native city of Verona before he was 15 years old. Between about 1845 and 1847 he studied at the Accademia in Venice. In 1848, sympathetic to the liberal cause, he fled first to the Romagna and then to Bologna in order to avoid being conscripted by the Aus-

trians. In the spring of 1849 he took part in the ill-fated defense of Bologna. After being arrested and imprisoned, he was allowed to return to Verona at the end of August 1849, where he remained until 1853. After his subsequent move to Florence, he immediately struck up friendships with Signorini and Borrani and in their company he first began to frequent the Caffè Michelangiolo in 1855.

At first, Cabianca was a genre painter clearly influenced by Gerolamo Induno, despite his frequent outdoor painting sessions in the company of Signorini and Borrani. But the debate within the Caffè Michelangiolo group after the return of Francesco Saverio Altamura and De Tivoli from the Paris Exposition of 1855, as well as Domenico Morelli's arrival in Florence in 1856, and Cabianca's renewed friendship with Signorini, contributed to the artist's turn toward a new kind of painting. He began to use more vigorous impasto and chiaroscuro techniques in his genre paintings, and later started experimenting, together with Signorini, with the new *macchia* techniques. He was so enthusiastic about this new language of painting that he soon became, in Cecioni's words, "the most outspoken, passionate, and absolute Macchiaiolo." He began a lifelong friendship with Banti, and worked with him and Signorini in 1860.

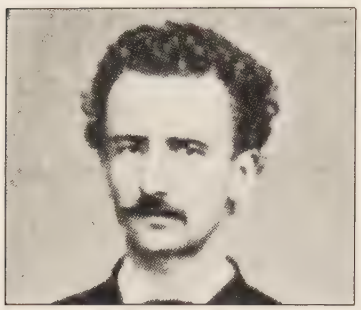
In 1861, Cabianca went to Paris with Signorini and Banti; there he studied the works of Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, whose influence is evident in much of his later work, particularly in his use of sharp chiaroscuro. In 1863 he moved to Parma, although he remained in touch with his Florentine friends and became especially close to Giuseppe Abbati. Encouraged by his friendship with Costa, he finally settled in Rome in 1870.

It was at this point that he began to travel through the Roman countryside. The small paintings and panels produced during this period are typical of the Macchiaioli style; they show that Cabianca was more concerned with portraying the strong contrasts of light in the landscape than the picturesque life of its villages. Diego Martelli's hospitality made it possible for him to spend a number of summers at Castiglioncello between 1882 and 1890, where he continued to do essentially the same kind of work as he did in Rome. Yet by 1880 his paintings began to reflect his more spiritual and melancholy mood — a reaction to the general crisis of values in Italy. The spiritual quality of his work in this period was in fact a common feature in Italian painting at the end of the nineteenth century. At Costa's encouragement he visited London in 1881 and 1882 with the hope of finding clients for his work, but he returned to Italy discouraged. Despite this disillusionment, he was justly honored in 1883 at the National Exhibition, and continued to be a well-known public figure in the artistic world of Rome.

## ADRIANO CECIONI

*Fontebuona 1836 — Florence 1886*

In 1859 Cecioni enrolled in the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence where he met Signorini for the first time. Later, when he enlisted as a volunteer in the Tuscan artillery corps during the war, he again met Signorini, who this time became a close friend. Upon returning to his studies in Florence, he devoted himself principally



to sculpture. Through Signorini, he was introduced to the circle of artists at the Caffè Michelangiolo. In 1863 he won a fellowship from the Accademia to study in Naples. There he met Marco di Gregorio, Federico Rossano, and, in 1864, Giuseppe De Nittis. Together they founded the Resina school of realist painting, which tried to integrate the ideas of the Macchiaioli with the naturalism of the Neapolitan school.

In 1866 he cast the plaster model for *Il Suicida (The Suicide)*, exhibiting it without success at the Accademia in Florence the following year. He had some critical success with his later work, but at this time his psychological problems and frustrations made his visits to Paris and his friendships with other artists difficult for him.

Cecioni's opinion of modern French art was decidedly negative: he appreciated the work of very few artists, and he approved wholeheartedly only of Gustave Courbet's paintings. In the early 1870s, he traveled to Paris and London, but was back in Florence around 1873 and 1874, serving as co-editor of the *Giornale Artistico* with Signorini and Salvatore Gritta. Between 1874 and 1879 he exhibited his work at the Promotrice in Florence. However, these were very difficult years for Cecioni because his lack of work and the need to support his family forced him constantly to ask friends and acquaintances for financial assistance. He did have some success exhibiting his sculpture and in 1884 was appointed to a teaching position in drawing which allowed him to live out his last years with little financial worry.

Cecioni was an intellectually gifted man, a distinguished art critic, a theorist of the *macchia* style, and a lively polemist. His writings on the Macchiaioli remain of primary importance for the study of that artistic movement, even though Cecioni's taste seemed at times to be inconsistent. He ignored the major artists of the group — Fattori, Lega, Abbati, and Sernesi — and was instead interested in its more intellectual but less important figures, such as Signorini, Cabianca, Costa, and Banti.

## NINO (GIOVANNI) COSTA

*Rome 1826 — Marina di Pisa 1903*

In 1845 Costa began to study with Vincenzo Camuccini despite the strong opposition of Costa's family, which disapproved of his interest in painting. He next enrolled at the Accademia in Rome, where he studied under Francesco Coghetti, Leonardo Massabò, and Francesco Podesti. When the Roman Republic was declared,

he took part in the defense of the city as a member of Garibaldi's general staff. After the fall of Rome in 1849, he fled to Ariccia because he was wanted by the papal police.

For ten years he lived between Albano, the Sabine hills, and the coast, always working on many paintings at once. Between 1850 and 1852 he painted *Donne che imbarcano legna a Porto d'Anzio (Women Loading Wood at the Port of Anzio)*, his most important early painting. Later, the English artist, George Mason, accompanied him to Pratica di Mare, where they both painted from nature in a deliberately archaic style, a style which was to be taken up again by Costa in future years. After taking part in the war of 1859, Costa went to Florence, where he again met De Tivoli, whom he had known in the days of the defense of Rome.

In Florence he came into contact with the circle of artists at the Caffè Michelangiolo. In 1861 he showed a number of landscape paintings at the National Exposition in Florence. His painting, based on carefully balanced relationships of tone and color in an intricate network of lines, deeply influenced the Macchiaioli, especially Fattori. Even though Costa states in his autobiography that he went to Paris for the first time in 1862 to show his *Women Loading Wood at the Port of Anzio* at the Salon, evidence suggests that he had already visited Paris in 1860 and 1861, when he probably met Alexandre Gabriel Decamps. He returned to Italy in 1863 and settled down to paint in Florence and at Bocca d'Arno, together with Fattori and Cabianca. In June 1864 he went to Rome to assist in the preparation of an insurrection, and after having fought at Mentana, he returned to Florence.

Continuing his personal pictorial research, he remained in touch with the Macchiaioli and was sometimes a guest of Diego Martelli at Castiglioncello. In 1870 he was appointed to a professorship at the Accademia in Florence. In that same year he was one of the first to enter Rome with the troops at Porta Pia. He was subsequently elected to the city council and to the artistic commission in charge of the reorganization of the Capitoline Museum. He exhibited his work in Florence, Vienna, and Turin in the years that followed and spent long periods at Marina di Pisa surrounded by the landscape he loved. He continued to exhibit his work in Italy and abroad, and took part in the first series of Biennale exhibitions in Venice.

## VITO D'ANCONA

*Pesaro 1825 — Florence 1884*

D'Ancona was born into a family of well-to-do Jewish bankers who, soon after his birth, moved to Florence from the papal states. In 1844, he began studying at the Accademia di Belle Arti, under the supervision of Giuseppe Bezzuoli. At this time, he met De Tivoli and began painting the landscape around Florence. He joined the Tuscan volunteers in 1848 and fought at Curtatone and Montanara. By 1851, he had begun showing in the Promotrice in Florence. He also began frequenting the Caffè Michelangiolo and in 1855 met Signorini, who inspired in him a passionate interest in Italian and foreign literature, especially that of the French realists. In 1856 D'Ancona and Signorini traveled to Bologna, Modena, Mantua, and Venice. In Venice they became friends with Frederic Leighton, Francesco Gamba, and the young Abbati, who was still a student at the Accademia. The romantic tendencies of D'Ancona's early work can be clearly detected in his 1859 paintings *Savonarola che ricusa di assolvere il morente Lorenzo de'Medici (Savonarola Refusing to Absolve the Dying Lorenzo de'Medici)* and *Dante e Beatrice. Dante and Beatrice* was shown at the 1861 National Exposition in Florence, where it was awarded a prize. However, D'Ancona, along with many other artists, refused to accept the award in protest against the composition of the jury.

During the Macchiaioli period he was among the innovators, taking up the new realist style in works which show a reflective and intellectual personality. His paintings had a positive influence on other artists particularly on the young Sernesi. In the mid-1860s he went to Paris and remained in the city for seven years, mingling with the French and Italian painters who lived there, including Boldini, Giuseppe De Nittis, and De Tivoli. When Signorini went to France in 1873, he found D'Ancona ill but still in touch with the latest developments in the contemporary art world. In 1875, extremely ill, D'Ancona returned to Florence. Before becoming completely immobilized by his bad health in 1878, D'Ancona was awarded the gold medal at the 1877 National Exhibition in Naples.

## SERAFINO DE TIVOLI

*Leghorn 1826 — Florence 1892*

De Tivoli was a pupil of Carlo Markò, from whom he learned the technique of landscape painting. In 1848 he enlisted with the Tuscan volunteer forces and fought at Curtatone and Montanara. In the following year, he took part in the defense of the Roman Republic; in Rome he met Costa, Gerolamo Induno, and Eleuterio Pagliano. After a period as a prisoner of war, he returned to Florence and began to exhibit, at the Promotrice, paintings depicting various views of Rome. According to Carlo Ademollo, in 1854 he went with the two Markò brothers, Lorenzo Gelati, and Ademollo to paint in the countryside near that region. He subsequently became the leader of the group of painters which took its name from Staggia. Among the first to frequent the Caffè Michelangiolo, De Tivoli soon became one of the principal leaders of the artistic debates that took place there. He became a close friend of D'Ancona, Signorini and the caricaturist Angiolo Tricca.

In 1855 he went with Francesco Saverio Altamura to visit the Paris Exposition. He was excited by the French experiments with light that were based on the relationship between color and chiaroscuro. According to Costa, De Tivoli remained in France for a considerable period of time, frequenting the studios of Constant Troyon, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, and Rosa Bonheur. Upon his return to Florence, probably in 1856, he discussed his Parisian discoveries with his friends and was the first one to encourage a change in technique, which paved the way for the new Tuscan school of painting. This earned him — from Signorini — the title of "the father of the *macchia*." However, his own artistic activity did not show any notable development in the years that followed. In fact, when De Tivoli exhibited in the 1862 Promotrice in Florence, Signorini noted that while the early works were extremely inventive, the more recent ones tended to be disappointingly clichéd. In 1873 De Tivoli settled in Paris, where he remained until 1890, keeping in touch with the Florentine art world and often meeting with the Italian artists who lived in Paris, including Boldini and D'Ancona. After finally returning to Florence, he began once again to paint in the surrounding countryside, and to exhibit his work at the annual Promotrice in that Tuscan city. Poverty-stricken and ill, he died alone in a home for the aged in 1892.

## GIOVANNI FATTORI

*Leghorn 1825 — Florence 1908*

Fattori early displayed talent as an artist; in 1846 his father brought him to Florence so that he could attend Giuseppe Bezzuoli's school and, later on, the Accademia di Belle Arti. He became part of the liberal circles in Florence and Leghorn, and took part in the political events of 1848. The days of the defense of Leghorn against the Austrian siege in 1849 left a lasting mark on his moral and political sensibilities. In 1850 he went back to Florence. He was an enthusiastic reader of historical romances by Sir Walter Scott, Victor Hugo, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, and Tommaso Grossi, from which he sometimes took subjects for his paintings. In 1854 he finished his studies at the Accademia and began designing lithographic vignettes for newspapers to earn a living. At the same time, however, he studied landscape painting and portraiture.

One of the regulars at the Caffè Michelangiolo, he enjoyed the socializing while still absorbing the new ideas. In 1859 he attempted to paint in the Macchiaioli style, taking as his subject the French soldiers encamped at the Cascine in Florence. Costa, who had just arrived in Florence, encouraged Fattori in his work. On the advice of Costa, he entered the Ricasoli competition in 1859 and won it with his painting entitled *Il campo italiano durante la battaglia di Magenta (The Italian Encampment During the Battle of Magenta)*. In the summer of 1867, after the death of his wife, he was Diego Martelli's guest at Castiglioncello along with Borrani, Abbati, and Sernesi. The landscape paintings that he had done at Leghorn exercised a considerable influence on the Castiglioncello group, especially Abbati. He began, during this period, to paint his favorite subjects, which would recur in his subsequent work: white oxen with their carts, wild horses in the fields, and peasants at work.

A number of peaceful, productive, and successful years then followed. In 1868 he won a prize for his painting *L'assalto alla Madonna della Scoperta (Assault at Madonna della Scoperta)*, and in the next year was made a professor at the Accademia in Florence. He went to Paris for a month in 1875, where he met with many artists. He was particularly interested in the work of Manet, although Corot's late work seems to have influenced him the most. Between 1876 and 1880 he painted the *La battaglia di Custoza (The Battle of Custoza)*, a work in which a cold and detached realism replaced the enthusiasm of his early military paintings. In 1887, at the International Exhibition in Venice, he exhibited three works inspired by the lives of herdsmen, which showed a new spiritual understanding of the Maremma landscape, portrayed with a pictorial sensibility attuned to the contemporary developments of later European naturalism. From this time on, Fattori also expressed more directly the disappointment and indignation felt by the generation of 1848 as a result of the reactionary turn in Italian politics. His commitment to his aesthetic credo grew stronger and stronger; in 1891 he launched a polemical attack against the so-called "divisionist" current, which he criticized for having no social or humanitarian concerns. He remained a prolific and successful painter who exhibited regularly, and from 1875 on he also worked in etching and engraving.

## SILVESTRO LEGA

*Modigliana 1826 — Florence 1895*

In 1843 Lega moved to Florence to stay with his brother Giovanni, a mediocre painter, and enrolled at the Accademia. He also attended the school of the Purist painter, Luigi Mussini, who trained him in the provincial style, in the manner of Ingres, toward which Tuscan Purism was tending at the time. In 1848 he enlisted as

a volunteer in the Tuscan expeditionary forces. When he returned to Florence, he found that Mussini had left for Paris. He began to take Antonio Ciseri's classes, and started to paint *L'incredulità di San Tommaso (The Doubting Saint Thomas),* which his teacher encouraged him to do. In 1852 he exhibited *La Velleda* at the Promotrice in Florence; its subject was the heroine in François-René de Chateaubriand's *Martiri (The Martyrs),* and showed him still under the influence of Mussini. He also frequented, although not with great regularity, the Caffè Michelangiolo. Because of his encounters with the group, he began to become aware of his shortcomings as an artist. A crisis developed slowly within him; in 1857 he destroyed a canvas on which he was working. This marked the beginning of his break with Purism.

He received a commission to paint four lunettes for the church of the Madonna del Cantone in Modigliana, a work he completed in 1863. While the first two lunettes clearly showed the influence of Ciseri, the last one displayed a new poetic realism and marked a definite break with the style of his teacher. About 1860, he painted a series of military scenes which demonstrated his interest in light and chiaroscuro. In 1861 he visited the Batelli estate at Piagentina and, beginning with the following year, he spent long periods of time there. In Piagentina, he began, together with Borrani, Sernesi, and Abbati, a series of studies taken from nature that signal his conversion to the realism of the Macchiaioli. These were fundamental years in Lega's life as an artist, and he painted some of his most important works in this period: *Il pergolato (The Trellis), La Visita (The Visit),* and *Canto dello stornello (Singing the Stornello).*

In 1870, after the deaths of several members of the Batelli family, Lega returned for a short time to Modigliana. In 1872 the first signs of a serious eye disease appeared. He went through a long period of inactivity, probably because of his grief and his illness. Together with Borrani, he began an art gallery in 1876, which encouraged him to paint again, but which was open only for a short time. By 1878 he was exhibiting at the Paris Universal Exposition and had developed a friendship with the Tommasi family, at whose villa at Bellariva he was a frequent guest. This was the beginning of a new phase in his painting, which reflected some of the elements of both Naturalism and Impressionism. Through Angiolo Tommasi he met the Bandini family in 1886 and became a close friend; he regularly visited their villa in the Gabbro countryside, near Leghorn. The rugged landscape, the gardens, and the people he knew there became frequent subjects for his paintings.

## ANTONIO PUCCINELLI

*Castelfranco di Sotto 1822 — Florence 1897*

Puccinelli was the son of a poor tailor, whose trade he followed for a period of time. Although interested at first in music, he ended up devoting himself to painting and attended Giuseppi Bezzuoli's courses at the Accademia. From 1848 to 1852 he was in Rome on a scholarship. From there he sent *Strage degli Innocenti (The Massacre*

*of the Innocents)* back to Florence, a painting whose subject was still in the orthodox academic spirit. In 1852 he painted the *La Passeggiata del Muro Torto (The Promenade at the Muro Torto),* a work which has been thought to prefigure the use of light and chiaroscuro by the Macchiaioli. At the end of 1852 he visited Venice and was deeply impressed by the colors of the Venetian old masters. In 1853 he went back to Florence, where he opened a studio. From then on he lived between Florence, Bologna, and Pistoia.

Among his works, a series of historical paintings earned him a considerable reputation as well as financial success: *Accademia Platonica (Plato's Academy)* (1853), *Cosimo il Vecchio con gli uomini illustri del suo tempo (Cosimo the Elder with Famous Men of His Time)* (1854), which was commissioned for the villa of an English patron, and the *Ritratto della Nobildonna Morrocchi (Portrait of the Lady Morrocchi).* From 1855 on he participated in the Promotrice in Florence, and in 1861 he took part in the National Exposition. His success there earned him a professorship at the Accademia in Bologna; he subsequently divided his time between teaching in Bologna and traveling to Florence and Pistoia. The paintings *Chiostro dell'Ospedale del Ceppo (Cloister of the Ospedale del Ceppo)* and *Ritratto di Nerina Badioli (Portrait of Nerina Badioli)* date from this extremely productive period between 1865 and 1875. In 1897 Puccinelli retired to live in Florence.

## RAFFAELLO SERNESI

*Florence 1838 — Bolzano 1866*

In 1856 Sernesi enrolled at the Accademia in Florence, where he painted under Antonio Ciseri and also studied the art of making medals. Later, he began frequenting the Caffè Michelangiolo and became a friend of Borrani. In 1859 he enlisted as a volunteer in the Tuscan forces. When he returned to Florence, he did numerous

drawings which showed his training as a Purist and his interest in the great Quattrocento masters such as Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, and Masaccio. Sernesi's interest in Quattrocento art was typical of Tuscan Purism and was shared by Fattori, Lega, and Borrani. In the same period, Sernesi began to paint from nature in the company of De Tivoli and Signorini. Between 1860 and 1861 he attempted to paint in the *macchia* style for the first time, producing paintings that were particularly close to the work of Signorini and D'Ancona.

In the summer of 1861 he and Borrani went on a painting trip to San Marcello Pistoiese. Later that year he exhibited *Ladruncoli di fichi (The Fig Thieves),* which was attacked as immoral by the official critics at the Promotrice. In 1862 he showed *Pasture in montagna (Pastures in the Mountains)* at the Promotrice, a work based on studies he made the previous year at San Marcello. He painted in the Piagentina area that same year, together with Abbati, Lega, and Borrani. In 1864 he was Diego Martelli's guest at Castiglioncello, along with Borrani; he later exhibited at the Promotrice in Florence the paintings done during his stay in the Maremma. He also continued to work as a medalist, striking a medal in honor of Garibaldi (1860) and another for the Dante centenary celebration (1865). In 1866 he enlisted with Garibaldi's volunteer forces. Wounded and captured in a skirmish with the Austrians, he subsequently died of his wounds at a hospital in Bolzano.

## TELEMACO SIGNORINI

*Florence 1835 — Florence 1901*

The son of a painter at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Signorini came into contact at an early age with the Florentine literary and artistic world. In 1852, despite his predilection for literature, he began to study painting under his father's supervision. The life-drawing classes were the only ones which he attend-

ed at the Accademia. Beginning in 1854, he accompanied Borrani to paint from nature in the countryside around Certaldo and San Gimignano; Cabianca joined them in the following year. At the Promotrice in Florence in 1855, Signorini exhibited paintings which were inspired by the historical writings of Machiavelli and by Sir Walter Scott's novels. In 1855 he met D'Ancona and together the two friends took part in the conversations and discussions at the Caffè Michelangiolo. In the following year they went to Venice, where Signorini met Frederic Leighton, Francesco Gamba, and Abbati; he also studied in the Venetian museums and palaces. When he returned to Florence at the end of 1856, he learned that his works had not been accepted at the Promotrice.

During a stay in La Spezia in 1858, he started his first work in the *macchia* style. In 1859 he enlisted as a volunteer in the artillery corps. He returned to La Spezia in 1860, where he was joined by Banti and Cabianca. Here, together with his friends, he returned to painting from nature; he was especially interested in studying figures in full sunlight. At the 1861 Promotrice in Turin, his *Il ghetto di Venezia (The Venice Ghetto)* caused considerable controversy.

During a visit to Paris to see the Salon, in the company of Cabianca and Banti, he had a chance to admire the works of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Constant Troyon, and Charles-François Daubigny. When he returned to Florence, he continued to paint *dal vero* ("from life"); along with Lega, Abbati and Sernesi, he founded the so-called Piagentina "school." Their objective was "a better realism," that is to say, straightforward naturalistic painting devoid of polemical intent. These were the years in which he began to work as a critic and a writer, contributing to a number of magazines, such as *Il Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno* (which he had founded, together with Martelli, in 1867) and *Giornale Artistico* (edited by Cecioni). He published a small volume of sonnets, entitled *Le 99 discussioni artistiche* (1871) and, later, *Caricaturisti e caricaturati al Caffè Michelangiolo* (1893). In 1865 he painted a more socially-conscious work, *La sala delle agitate (The Ward of the Madwomen)*, which impressed Degas during his brief trip to Italy.

A restless spirit, Signorini traveled frequently throughout Italy and Europe. In 1869 he was again in Paris; in 1870 he went to Parma as a member of the jury for the exhibition there. In 1873-74 he was given a commission by the French art dealers Goupil and Reitlinger, and he went to paint the countryside of the Marne and the Seine, accompanied by Boldini. In 1881 he went to England and Scotland and produced several cityscapes which were exhibited both in Paris and at the Royal Academy in London. In 1892 he became a teacher at the Istituto Superiore di Belle Arti in Florence.

## FEDERICO ZANDOMENEGHI

*Venice 1841 — Paris 1917*

Born into a family of artists, he enrolled in 1856 at he Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice. In 1860 he took part in Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily. Upon his return, he learned that he could not go back to Venice because he was wanted there for desertion. He decided to stay in Florence, but managed to return to Venice

in 1862, where he was promptly arrested by the Austrian police. He successfully escaped from prison, however, and went back to Florence to take up residence. Here he immediately came into contact with the Macchiaioli, whose aesthetic theories appealed to him and were consistent with his earlier anti-academic painting experience in Venice. He became a good friend of Cabianca and Diego Martelli; he was the latter's guest at Castiglioncello and painted frequently in the countryside there. The works done in the 1860s, however, revealed a specific interest in the expression of emotion and in the composition of figures in scenes of everyday life. Moreover, in contrast with the more dramatic *macchia* style of the Tuscans, his work showed a warm and delicate tonality that clearly had its source in Venetian painting. He had, in fact, returned to Venice by 1866, and from there he kept up his close connections with the Macchiaioli.

In 1874 he left Italy for Paris, where he took up residence and met many of the Impressionists. In order to earn a living, he had to accept work as an illustrator for fashion magazines. The arrival of his friend Diego Martelli in Paris in 1878 helped to bring him closer to the Impressionist painters; he became a lifelong friend of Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley and Edgar Degas, despite occasional problems with their notoriously difficult personalities. In 1879 and again in 1880 he exhibited his works at the Impressionist shows, where the critic Joris Karl Huysmans reviewed them favorably. Between 1878 and 1888 he produced paintings that were similar to Impressionist works, both in terms of chromatic scale and subject matter — principally scenes from city life or from the daily life of women.

Zandomeneghi, aware of all that was new in the field of art in Paris, from Gauguin to Van Gogh to Seurat, adopted in the last decade of the century a new range of color in his painting. He began to concentrate on red, orange, and blue tones, as well as on more solid and geometric modeling of the figures, which is more clearly visible in the later works. Although helped financially by his relationship with the art dealer Durand-Ruel, Zandomeneghi still preferred to lead a solitary and retiring life. He expressed many times in his letters his overwhelming desire to return to his native land; however, his attempts to exhibit in Milan in 1906 and later in Venice were received unfavorably by the critics and he never went back to Italy to live.

## SELECTED EXHIBITIONS

1849 Siena — Istituto Reale di Belle Arti, *Mostra delle opere ammesse al Concorso triennale di pittura*. Siena, 1848.

1853 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti*. Florence, 1853.

1857 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse nelle sale della Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Firenze per la solenne Esposizione dell'anno 1857*. Florence: Tip. Mariani, 1857.

1859 Naples — *Catalogo delle opere di Belle Arti in mostra nel Real Museo Borbonico nel dì 8 settembre 1859*. Naples: Stamperia Reale, 1859.

1860 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione delle Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Firenze, anno 1860*.

1861 Florence — *Catalogo illustrativo delle opere di pittura nella I Esposizione italiana del 1861 in Firenze*. Florence: Tip. Mariani, 1861.

1861 Florence Prom. — *Prom. catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Firenze, anno 1861*.

1862 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Firenze, anno 1862*.

1862 Milan — *Esposizione delle Opere di Belle Arti nelle Gallerie del Palazzo Nazionale di Brera per l'anno 1862*.

1862 Naples — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Napoli*.

1862 Turin — *Catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XI Esposizione aperta il 17 maggio 1862 per cura della Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1862.

1863 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Firenze*. Florence: Tip. Mariani, 1863.

1863 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, Esposizione XII, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi all'Esposizione del 1863*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1863.

1864 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, anno XIII, catalogo oggetti esposti*.

1865 Florence — *Catalogo della Esposizione in occasione del centenario di Dante nelle sale della R. Accademia di Belle Arti*. Florence: Bettini, 1865.

1865 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXIV Esposizione aperta il 22 aprile 1865 nell'edificio della Società*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1865.

1865 Venice — *Memorie della Società Veneta Promotrice di Belle Arti, Palazzo Mocenigo-San Benedetto, anno I (1865)*. Venice: Antonelli, 1866.

1866 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1866*.

1866 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, anno XV, esposizione del novembre 1866, catalogo degli oggetti esposti*. Genoa: Stabilimento degli Artisti Tipografi, 1866.

1866 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXV Esposizione aperta il 28 aprile 1866 nell'edificio della Società*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1866.

1867 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione della Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Firenze, anno 1867*.

1868 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze, anno 1868*.

1868 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere di pittura presentate al concorso istituito con decreto del dì 4 luglio 1866*. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, 1868.

1868 Turin — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXVII Esposizione*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1868.

1869 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse alla Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1869*. Florence: Tip. Mariani, 1869.

1869 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, Exp. XVIII, anno 1869, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi*. Genoa: Tip. Schenone, 1869.

1869 Milan — *Esposizione delle opere di Belle Arti nelle Gallerie del Palazzo Nazionale di Brera nell'anno 1869*. Milan: Tip. della Società Cooperativa, 1869.

1869 Turin — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXVIII esposizione*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1869.

1870 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, Esposizione XIX, anno 1870. Catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi*. Genoa: Tip. Schenone, 1870.

1870 Milan — *Esposizione delle opere di Belli Arti nelle Gallerie delle Palazzo Nazionale di Brera*. Milan: Tip. della Società Cooperativa, 1870.

1870 Parma — *Catalogo dell'Esposizione di Belle Arti in Parma nell'anno 1870*.

1870 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXIX Esposizione aperta il 30 aprile 1870 nell'edificio della Società*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1870.

1871 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1871*. Florence: Tip. Mariani, 1871.

1871 Naples — *Mostra Promotrice di Belle Arti*. Naples: Salvator Rosa, 1871.

1873 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse . . . all'esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1873*. Florence: Tip. della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1873.

1873 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, Esposizione XXII, anno 1873, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi*. Genoa: Tip. Schenone, 1873.

1873 Vienna — *Esposizione Universale di Vienna, catalogo delle Belle Arti italiane*. Vienna, 1873.

1874 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1874*. Florence: Tip. della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1874.

1874 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XXXIII Esposizione del 1874*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1874.

1876 Philadelphia — United States Centennial Commission, *International Exhibition 1876. Official Catalogue*. Philadelphia: John R. Nagle and Company, 1876.

1879 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1879*. Florence: Stab. Pellas, 1879.

1880 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1880*. Florence: Tip. della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1880.

1880 Turin — *IV Esposizione Nazionale di Belle Arti, Torino 1880, catalogo ufficiale generale*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1880.

1881 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze*. Florence: Tip. della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1881.

1881 Genoa — *Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Genova, Esposizione XXX, anno 1881, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi*. Genoa: Tip. Schenone, 1881.

1881 Turin — *Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino, catalogo degli oggetti d'arte ammessi alla XL Esposizione del 1881*. Turin: Tip. Bona, 1881.

1882 Florence — *Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze, Esposizione solenne, catalogo, anno 1882*. Florence: Tip. Bencini, 1882.

1882 London — Fine Art Society, *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures by Professor G. Costa*.

1885 Florence — *Catalogo delle opere ammesse all'Esposizione solenne della Società d'Incoraggiamento delle Belle Arti in Firenze nell'anno 1885*. Florence: Tip. Bencini, 1885.

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1898 Turin — *Esposizione Generale Italiana, catalogo illustrato delle Belle Arti*. Turin: Roux Frassati, 1898.

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1903 Venice — *V Biennale Veneziana*. Venice: Tip. Ferrari, 1903.

1905 Florence — *Arte toscana*. Prima Esposizione, Florence, 1905.

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1921 Rome — Prima Biennale Romana, *Espozisione nazionale di Belle Arti nel cinquentenario della capitale*. Rome, Mar. 30-June 30, 1921. Milan-Rome: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1921.

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1934 Venice — *XIX Biennale Veneziana*. Venice: Tip. Ferrari, 1934.

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1936 Naples — Unione Provinciale di Napoli, *Il paesaggio nella pittura italiana dell'Ottocento*. Naples, Sept. 1936. Naples: Confederazione fascista dei Professionisti e degli Artisti, 1936.

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1938 Venice — *XXI Biennale Veneziana*. Venice: Tip. Ferrari, 1938.

1940 Cremona — *II Fiera Nazionale d'Arte Antica e Pittura dell'800*.

1941 Milan — L'Esame Gallery, *Mostra di opere scelte dell'Ottocento*. Milan, May 31-June 30, 1941.

1946 Florence — *Mostra dei Macchiaioli della Collezione Mario Borgiotti*. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence, July 14-Sept. 30, 1946. Catalogue introduction by G. Poggi. Florence: Arnaud Editore, 1946.

1948 Florence — *Dall'Otto al Novecento: Otto momenti di pittura in Toscana*. Circolo degli Artisti, Casa di Dante, Florence, Dec. 1948.

1948 Lugano — *Mostra di dipinti dell'Ottocento italiano*. Lugano, Caccia Museum at Villa Ciani, Mar. 26-May 17, 1948. Catalogue introduction by P. D'Ancona. Bellinzona: Tip. Levis & Vescovi, 1948.

1949 Florence — *Pittori italiani dell'Ottocento*. Academy Gallery, Florence, 1949.

1949 New York — *Pittori italiani dell'Ottocento*. Catalogue by Enrico Somarè. New York: Wildenstein & Co., 1949. (Italian edition Milan: Pizzi, 1949).

1952 Rome — *Pittori italiani del secondo Ottocento*. Rome: De Luca, 1952.

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1952 Vercelli — *Mostra della pittura italiana dell'Ottocento nelle Collezioni Biellesi*. Museo Borgogna, Vercelli, Sept. 28-Oct. 28, 1952.

1953 Florence — *Dipinti, disegni e incisioni di Giovanni Fattori alla Galleria dell'Accademia*. Florence, Nov. 1-20, 1953.

1953 Leghorn — *Mostra di Giovanni Fattori: dipinti, disegni, acqueforti*. Villa Fabbricotti, Leghorn, Aug.-Sept. 1953. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Florence: A.G.A.F., 1953.

1953 Milan — *La Donna nell'Arte da Hayez a Modigliani*. Palazzo Sociale, Milan.

1953 Prato — Associazione turistica pratese, *Mostra di pittura dell'800 e del '900 nelle collezioni private pratesi*. Palazzo Pretorio, Prato, Sept. 6-30, 1953.

1954 Milan — *Società per le Belle Arti ed Esposizione Permanente, Il Paesaggio Italiano*. Catalogue by U. Nebbia, Milan, Apr.-June 1954.

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1961 Cologne — Wallraf-Richartz Museum, *Italienische Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Cologne, May 7-June 18, 1961.

1961 Hartford — Wadsworth Atheneum, *Salute to Italy: 100 Years of Italian Art 1861-1961*, Hartford, Connecticut, Apr. 21-May 28, 1961.

1961 Turin — *L'Unità d'Italia, mostra storica*. Turin, May 1961.

1962 Karlsruhe — *Italienische Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Karlsruhe, Badischer Kunstsuerein, Jan.-Feb. 1962.

1962 Leghorn — Centro Artistico "Il Grattacielo," *I Macchiaioli*. Leghorn, July-Aug. 1962. Brescia: La Nuova Cartografica, 1962.

1963 Ferrara — *Mostra di Giovanni Boldini*. Ferrara, Casa Romei, July 26-Oct. 31, 1963. Catalogue by E.C. Boldini, G. Gelli, E. Piceni. Milan: Bramante, 1963.

1963 Montecatini — Palazzo del Turismo, *Macchiaioli toscani d'Europa*. Montecatini Terme, May 19-June 30, 1963. Florence: Leo. S. Olschki, 1963.

1963 Paris — *Boldini (1842-1931)*. Musée Jacquemart-Andrè, Paris, Mar.-July 1963.

1963-1964 New York — The Tuscan Association of Arts, *The "Macchiaioli," Italian Painting of the Nineteenth Century*. Traveling Exhibition New York, Sept. 1963-Sept. 1964. Catalogue by E. Cecchi. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1963.

1965 Prato — Azienda Autonoma di Turismo, *L'opera di Cristiano Banti pittore (1824-1904)*. Palazzo Pretorio, Prato, May 1-31, 1965. Catalogue introduction by M. Borgiotti. Florence: Edizioni Arnaud, 1965.

1965 San Gimignano — *Omaggio a Niccolò Cannicci ed altre opere dei Macchiaioli toscani*. San Gimignano (Siena), 1967.

1968 Milan — Galleria d'Arte Sant'Ambrogio, *Mostra commemorativa di Giovanni Fattori nel 60° anniversario della morte*. Milan, 1968.

1969 Florence — *Arte e Scienze in Toscana*, Orsanmichele, Florence, 1969.

1969 Rome — *Mostra di disegni di Telemaco Signorini*, National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, Apr. 13-May 11, 1969. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1969.

1969-1970 Santa Croce sull'Arno — Palazzo Vettori, *Mostra antologica di Cristiano Banti*. Santa Croce sull'Arno, Dec. 20, 1969-Jan. 20, 1970. Catalogue by Mario Borgiotti and Sandra Pinto.

1970 Bologna — Galleria d'Arte Forni, *Giovanni Fattori*. Bologna, 1970. Bologna: Grafis, 1970.

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1970 Florence — *Cecioni scultore*. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence, April 11-June 30, 1970. Catalogue by Bernardina Sani.

1970-1971 Rome — *Disegni di Giovanni Fattori al Museo Civico di Livorno*. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, Dec. 19, 1970-Jan. 31, 1971. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1970.

1971 Florence — *Pittori italiani dell'800, VII Mostra Biennale Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*. Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, Sept. 15-Oct. 14, 1971. Catalogue by Marco Valsecchi. Florence: Il Torchio, 1971.

1971 Florence — *Disegni italiani del XIX secolo, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi*, Florence, June 1971. Catalogue by Carlo Del Bravo.

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1972-73 Columbia — Columbia Museum of Art, *Ottocento Painting*. Columbia, South Carolina, Nov. 15, 1972-Dec. 31, 1973. Catalogue by Annie-Paul Quinsac.

1973 Bologna — Associazione per le Arti "Francesco Francia," *Silvestro Lega*. Bologna, June 14-Aug. 26, 1973. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1973.

1973 Florence — Palazzo Strozzi, *VIII Mostra Biennale Internazionale dell'Antiquariato — Pittori italiani dell'Ottocento*. Florence, Sept. 15-Oct. 14, 1973.

1973 Milan — *Pittori Italiani dell'Ottocento*. Via Manzoni, Milan, Nov. 1973.

1973-1974 Florence — *Romanticismo Storico*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Dec. 1973-Feb. 1974. Catalogue by Sandra Pinto et al. Florence: Centro Di, 1974.

1974 Florence — *Mostra di opere italiane in rapporto con l'arte francese fra il 1860 e il 1915*. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence, May-Oct. 1974.

1974 Ravenna — *Pittura in Romagna dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento a oggi*. Pinacoteca Comunale di Ravenna, Apr. 7-June 16, 1974.

1975 Florence — Palazzo Strozzi, *IX Mostra Biennale Internazionale dell'Antiquariato — Macchiaioli e naturalismo europeo*. Florence, Sept. 13-Oct. 6, 1975. Catalogue by Giuliano Matteucci. Florence: Il Torchio, 1975.

1975-1976 Munich — Haus der Kunst. *Toskanische Impressionen, Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europäischen Realismus*. Munich, Oct. 18, 1975-Jan. 4, 1976. Catalogue by Dario Durbé and Giuliano Matteucci. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1975.

1976 Florence — Forte di Belvedere, *I Macchiaioli*. Florence, May 23-July 22, 1976. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Florence: Centro Di, 1976.

1976 Florence, *Fattari* — *Le acqueforti di Fattori nella Collezione Rosselli*. Florence June 12-Dec. 31, 1976. Catalogue by Maria Cristina Bonagura. Florence: Centro Di, 1976.

1976 Leghorn — G. Fattori Civic Museum, *Disegni inediti di Giovanni Fattori*. Leghorn, June 26-Aug.22, 1976. Catalogue by Vera and Dario Durbé. Florence: Centro Di, 1976,

1976 London — Fine Art Society, *Centenary Exhibition*. London, Mar. 23-Apr. 30, 1976.

1976 London — Fine Art Society, *The Etruscan School*. London, November Nov.-Dec. 1976.

1976-1977 Rome — *Vincenzo Cabianca, disegni dallo studio dell'artista*. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, Dec. 18, 1976-Mar. 30, 1977. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1976.

1977 Cortina d'Ampezzo — Centro d'Arte Dolomiti, *Silvestro Lega — Dipinti noti ed inediti*. Cortina d'Ampezzo, Dec. 27, 1977-Jan. 10, 1978. Catalogue by Giuliano Matteucci. Florence: Il Torchio, 1977.

1978 Gaeta — Palazzo del Vio, *Gaeta e l'assedio del 1860-61*. Gaeta, July-Sept. 1978.

1978 Paris — *Giovanni Fattori, Eaux-fortes*. Paris, Hotel de Galliffet, Oct.-Dec. 1978. Catalogue by Maria Cristina Bonagura. Milan: Luigi Maestri, 1978.

1978-1979 Paris — Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *I Macchiaioli, peintres en Toscane après 1850*. Paris, Oct. 25, 1978-Jan. 8, 1979. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Paris: Les Presses Artistiques, 1979.

1979 Lugano — Museo Civico di Belle Arti, *I Macchiaioli: Pittori Toscani del secondo Ottocento*. Villa Ciani, Lugano, Mar. 17-June 17, 1979. Catalogue by Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1979.

1979 Tokyo — Isetan Art Hall, *I Macchiaioli*. Tokyo, Apr. 26-May 8, 1979. Tokyo: The Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1979.

1980 Florence — Gabinetto Vieusseux, *30 Macchiaioli inediti*. Florence, Feb. 4-9, 1980. Catalogue by Dario Durbé and Giuliano Matteucci. Rome: De Luca, 1980.

1980 Leghorn — Cisternino del Poccianti, *La giovinezza di Fattori*. Leghorn, Oct.-Dec. 1980. Catalogue by Vera and Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1980.

1981 Florence — Gabinetto Vieusseux, *Contributo a Borrani*. Florence, Apr. 8-May 4, 1981. Catalogue by Piero Dini and Dario Durbé. Rome: De Luca, 1981.

1981 Lyons — Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Silvestro Lega (1826-1895)*. Lyons, Mar. 1981. Catalogue by Dario Durbé, Lando Landini, and Giuliano Matteucci. Rome: De Luca, 1981.

1982 Manchester-Edinburgh — City Art Gallery, Manchester, and City Art Center, Edinburgh, *The Macchiaioli: Masters of Realism in Tuscany*. Manchester, June 9-24 July 1982; Edinburgh, Aug. 6-Sept. 25 1982. Rome: De Luca, 1982.

1982 Milan — Società per le Belle Arti ed Esposizione Permanente, *Nino Costa ed i suoi amici inglesi*. Milan, June 1982. Catalogue by Sandra Berresford and Paul Nicholls. Milan: Studio Paul Nicholls, 1982.

1982 Milan, *Banti* — Museo di Milano, *Cristiano Banti: Un Macchiaiolo nel suo tempo*. Milan, June 17-July 18, 1982. Catalogue by Giuliano Matteucci. Florence: Il Torchio, 1982.

1982 Rome — *Garibaldi, Arte e Storia*. Rome, Museum of the Palazzo di Venezia and Central Museum of the Risorgimento, June 23-Dec. 31, 1982. Catalogue by Sandra Pinto et al. Florence: Centro Di, 1982.

1982 Rome N.G.M.A. — National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, *Pittura Garibaldina da Fattori a Guttuso*. Rome, Dec. 22, 1982-Feb. 27, 1983. Rome: De Luca, 1982.

1982 Williamstown — Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, *Italian Paintings 1850-1910 from Collections in the Northeastern United States*. Williamstown, Massachusetts, Oct. 30-Dec. 5 1982. Catalogue by David B. Cass and John Wetenhall.

1983 Pistoia — Convent of San Domenico, *I Macchiaioli nelle collezioni pistoiesi e le evidenze culturale dell'epoca*. Pistoia, April 23-May 22, 1983. Catalogue by Dario Durbé, Piero Dini, and Lando Landini. Pistoia: Edizioni del Comune di Pistoia, 1983.

1983 Turin — *I dipinti dell'Ottocento italiano*, no. 1. Introductory texts by Dario Durbé and Enrico Piceni. Turin: Umberto Allemandi e C., 1983.

1983-84 Hyogo — *The Rediscovery of Nature: Landscape in the Nineteenth Century*. Hyogo, Museum of Modern Art. Traveling exhibition Dec. 2, 1983-March 25, 1984.

1983-84 Leghorn — Cisternino del Poccianti, *Fattori da Magenta a Montebello*. Leghorn, Dec. 1983-Jan. 1984. Catalogue by Cristina Bonagura, Laura Dinelli, and Luciano Bernardini. Rome: De Luca, 1983.

1984 Florence — Parronchi Gallery, *I Macchiaioli, 55 dipinti nelle collezioni private*. Catalogue by Dario Durbé and Antonio Parronchi. Florence: Il Torchio, 1984.

1984 New York — Stair Sainty Matthiesen, *The Macchiaioli: Tuscan Painters of the Sunlight*, New York, Mar. 14-Apr. 20, 1984. Catalogue by Giuliano Matteucci. Florence: Il Torchio, 1984.

1984 Pistoia — Convent of San Domenico, *Giovanni Boldini*. Pistoia, Sept. 25-Nov. 15, 1984. Catalogue by Piero Dini. Pistoia: Edizioni del Comune di Pistoia, 1984.

1984 Turin — *Il valore dei dipinti dell'Ottocento*, no. 2. Introductory texts by Piero Dini, Dario Durbé, and Enrico Piceni. Turin: Umberto Allemandi e C., 1984.

1985 Cuneo — Il Prisma Gallery, *Pittori dell'800 e '900, 42 documenti pittorici del secondo Ottocento e del primo Novecento*. Catalogue by Giuseppe Luigi Marini.

1985 Turin — Palazzo Carignano, *Carlo Bossoli (1815-1884), Cronache pittoriche del Risorgimento*. Turin, Jan. 18-March 21, 1985.

Plate I
**Vito D'Ancona**
*Signora in giardino/Lady in the Garden*, c. 1861-62
(cat. no. 51)

Plate II
**Raffaello Sernesi**
*Tetti al sole/Roofs in the Sunlight*, c. 1861
(cat. no. 56)

Plate III
**Giovanni Fattori**
*Accampamento/Bivouac*, c. 1860
(cat. no. 20)

Plate IV
**Odoardo Borrani**
*Il 26 aprile 1859/The 26th of April 1859*, 1861
(cat. no. 13)

Plate V
**Giovanni Boldini**
*Il pittore Beppe Abbati/The Painter Beppe Abbati*, 1865-66
(cat. no. 79)

Plate VI
**Giuseppe Abbati**
*Carro e buoi nella Maremma toscana/Cart and Oxen in the Tuscan Maremma*, c. 1867
(cat. no. 77)

Plate VII
**Giovanni Fattori**
*Contadina nel bosco/Peasant Woman in the Woods*, 1861
(cat. no. 59)

Plate VIII
**Odoardo Borrani**
*Orto a Castiglioncello*/*Vegetable Garden at Castiglioncello*, c. 1864
(cat. no. 85)

Plate IX
**Odoardo Borrani**
*Casa e marina a Castiglioncello*/*House and Seacoast at Castiglioncello*,
c. 1864
(cat. no. 84)

Plate X
**Giovanni Fattori**
*Diego Martelli a cavallo*/***Diego Martelli on Horseback***, c. 1867
(cat. no. 93)

Plate XI
**Cristiano Banti**
*Lavoranti di paglia della Val d'Elsa/The Straw Weavers of Val d'Elsa,* 1886
(cat. no. 125)

Plate XII
**Silvestro Lega**
*I promessi sposi/The Betrothed,* 1869
(cat. no. 119)

Plate XIII
**Adriano Cecioni**
*Interno con figura/Interior with Figure*, c. 1867
(cat. no. 109)

Plate XIV
**Telemaco Signorini**
*La toilette del mattino/The Morning Toilette*, 1898
(cat. no. 163)

# *CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION*

Note: The major paintings and historical works in the checklist are divided into six sections, one thematic—paintings related to the Risorgimento—and five chronological—The Early Years, Fattori at Leghorn, The Macchiaioli at Castiglioncello, The Macchiaioli at Piagentina, and Later Tuscan Realism. Each of these sections is in turn arranged alphabetically by artist and within that, by date. The last group of items on the checklist—the drawings and etchings by Fattori, the caricatures, books, and periodicals—are organized by medium and thereafter by date. All abbreviated citations in this checklist are references to full citations in the list of Selected Exhibitions and in the Selected Bibliography.

# THE MACCHIAIOLI AND THE RISORGIMENTO

All of the Macchiaioli painters were involved with the social and political events surrounding the struggle for Italian unification known as the Risorgimento. The Caffè Michelangiolo, where the artists first met and gathered for discussion, was also the meeting place for a group of Florentine revolutionary nationalists, under the leadership of Giuseppi Dolfi. Most of the Macchiaioli volunteered to fight for the cause, including Abbati, who lost an eye, and Sernesi, who died of his battle wounds.

As a result, many of the artists, especially Borrani, Fattori, Lega and Signorini, responded to these events and associations by producing paintings that expressed their patriotic concerns. They were determined, however, to discover a new technique which they could combine with this contemporary subject matter to revolutionize the melodramatic, anachronistic tradition of history painting which they had inherited. The transitional work of artists such as Francesco Saverio Altamura, Enrico Fanfani, and Gerolamo Induno reinforced the younger artists' desire to use specific topographical details and contemporary settings.

Some of these Risorgimento paintings represent the best of the Macchiaioli artists' work. Borrani's *The 26th of April 1859* and *Seamstresses of the Red Shirts* are historical works that also are part of a new, more realistic, less moralistic mode of genre painting. The early Fattori *macchia* works, such as *Bivouac* and *French Soldiers at the Cascine* captured his objective, immediate impressions of the rather odd situation of French soldiers camped in the middle of Florence. His *Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta* was a landmark painting, the study of which won the prize at the competitions held by the head of the Provisional Government, Bettino Ricasoli, in 1860, and which became a model for the kind of contemporary history painting that the Macchiaioli and others would produce. Lega's *Mazzini on His Deathbed* is one of his most powerful portraits and also reflects the significance of this revolutionary leader in the lives of these artists.

## Non-Macchiaioli Paintings

**Francesco Saverio Altamura**
**1.** *La prima bandiera italiana portata in Firenze nel 1859/The First Italian Flag Carried into Florence in 1859,* 1859
Oil on canvas
51 × 75 cm./20⅛ × 29½ in.
National Museum of the Risorgimento, Turin
(Rome 1982, I/4.2)

This picture was entirely neglected by critics until the time of the Garibaldi exhibition in Rome in 1982. The conception of this work is linked to the insurrection in Florence and the end of the Grand Duchy on April 27, 1859. Yet Altamura's artistic interpretation of that revolutionary event is curiously detached and conceptual, not unlike Borrani's interpretation of the same historical event in *The 26th of April 1859* (cat. no. 13).

The theme of the Risorgimento in this painting, in fact, is limited to the boy who almost casually carries the flag in the foreground, and is only a part of a larger composition in which the human element, landscape, and architecture have the same importance. Particularly noteworthy is Altamura's depiction of the Florentine church of San Miniato al Monte, which is seen from an oblique angle and situated within a complex of surrounding build ings.

Altamura (1829-1897) was a very active patriot. He fought in the uprisings of 1848, spent time in prison, and was finally sentenced to death *in absentia* and subsequently spent a long period of exile in Florence. He then followed Garibaldi to Naples and was a councilor in the first popular government after the fall of the Bourbons. His most productive and creative years as an artist coincide more or less with his years of greatest political involvement and his stay in Florence.

Altamura's role in the Macchiaioli movement has not yet been studied, nor has there yet been a complete historical/critical study of this typically nineteenth-century southern Italian artist, who vacillated between an academic, romantic approach and an almost veristic rendering of landscape and historical themes.

Provenance: Fenoglio gift, 1964.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1982, no. I/4.2.

**Giuseppe Bertini**
**2.** *L'incontro di Vittorio Emanuele II e Napoleone III a Milano/The Meeting of Vittorio Emanuele II and Napoleon III at Milan,* 1859
Oil on canvas
39 × 69 cm./15⅜ × 27⅛ in.
Museum of the Risorgimento, Milan
(Bellonzi, 1967, p. 55, pl. 29)

This picture by Bertini, a Milanese painter who was influenced by Hayez and Induno, celebrates the triumphal entry of the allies into Milan on June 8, 1859 following their victory at Magenta four days earlier.

According to eyewitness accounts, Vittorio Emanuele let Napoleon III have pride of place and receive the salute as they entered the Lombard capital, while he himself held back. But Bertini takes a point of view that gives more prominence to Vittorio Emanuele, in keeping with the propagandistic intent of the picture. The presence of the tricolor flag on the right heralds the liberation of Lombardy from Austrian rule.

After the Treaty of Villafranca a scene such as this one could never have taken place, for Italian enthusiasm was severely dampened by the agreement allowing the Austrians to maintain control of the Veneto.

**Enrico Fanfani**
**3.** *Il 27 aprile 1859/The 27th of April 1859,* 1860
Oil on canvas
108 × 92 cm./42½ × 36¼ in.
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Rome 1982, I/4.5)

This painting depicts the show of public enthusiasm in Florence that accompanied the flight of Leopoldo II, marking the end of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany on April 27. The numerous contemporary accounts of the events of that historic day describe a situation of great tension and danger for the people of Florence. Fanfani, instead, seems to be depicting a public celebration, rich in secondary episodes (the children playing, the middle-class couple in the foreground watching the scene with evident detachment, the dogs chasing each other). Indeed, this painting follows the typical format of the type of views that were made so popular in Florence by painters like Signorini's father, Giovanni, during the 1840s and 1850s. Fanfani, in fact, relegates the most significant events (the arrival in the Piazza della Signoria of one of the many groups of citizens who marched through the streets of Florence on that day and the raising of the tricolor flag on the Palazzo Vecchio) to the middle ground of the picture.

Very little is known about the life of Enrico Fanfani, who was active in Florence between 1847 and 1861. He began his career in the wake of Tuscan Purism of the late 1840s, gradually moving in the 1850s and 1860s toward a looser, more luminous style that was akin to that of the artists who then frequented the Caffè Michelangiolo. This picture demonstrates that approach, in the dappled rendering of colors and above all in the broad shaft of light that illuminates the figure of the exultant citizen in the foreground.

Provenance: Gallery of the Academy, Florence, 1867.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1860. Rome, 1982, no. I/4.5.

**Gerolamo Induno**
**4.** *Legionario garibaldino alla difesa di Roma/Garibaldi Legionnaire in the Defense of Rome,* 1851
Oil on canvas
36 × 26.5 cm./14¼ × 10½ in.
Museum of the Risorgimento, Milan
(Rome 1982, p. 24)

The subject of this painting derives from the events of 1849 when Garibaldi and his legionnaires valiantly but unsuccessfully defended the Roman Republic against the French troops led by General Oudinot.

The romantic vision of this young legionnaire is perfectly in keeping with the contemporary genre painting of Induno and Francesco Hayez. The details of the costume, particularly the hat pulled down over the young soldier's eyes, are almost medieval in flavor, much like the overtly "historical" quality of Hayez' famous painting *Il bacio (The Kiss)* (1859) in the Brera Gallery. This type of highly sentimental rhetoric was especially popular during the years of Italy's emergence as a unified nation.

**Gerolamo Induno**
**5.** *Triste presentimento/Sad Presentiment,* 1862
Oil on canvas
67 × 86 cm./26⅜ × 33⅞ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *Ger.mo Induno 1862*
Brera Gallery, Milan
(Rome 1982, I/6.6)

This painting, which was overlooked until it was published in 1933 in the *Enciclopedia Italiana,* has become one of Induno's most famous and often reproduced works. It is linked to the Garibaldi legend by a series of clues: a reproduction of Hayez' *Il bacio (The Kiss)* of 1859 on the wall, the bust of Garibaldi in the niche, and the photograph of the barricades on the window shutter — clues that would become clear only much later, during the first part of the twentieth century, when the work became known by the title *La fidanzata del Garibaldino (The Fiancée of the Garibaldino).* The picture's historical and documentary aspect was not well-known during the nineteenth century. For example, in the inventory of works in the Brera Gallery of 1882 it is described as a "young woman with a melancholy expression sitting on her bed contemplating a small portrait."

The unresolved ambiguity of his pictures, indeed, was one of the reasons for Induno's success with Lombard collectors, who favored the historical, sentimental subjects typical of Hayez. Induno's works also include the constant presence of the conflict between civic duty and emotional attachments that had already made Hayez' fortune.

Provenance: Academy of Fine Arts, Milan, gift of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 1862. Brera Gallery, Milan (since 1882).
Exhibitions: Milan, 1862. Rome, 1982, no. I/6.6.

**Filippo Palizzi**
**6.** *Garibaldi a cavallo/Garibaldi on Horseback*, 1851
Oil on canvas
55 × 47 cm./21⅝ × 18½ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *Fili Palizzi/1851*
Private collection, Rome
(Rome 1982, I/3.3.8)

This picture presents an emblematic image of Garibaldi as a romantic hero, captured with the same liveliness and precision as the life studies of plants and animals that were Palizzi's specialty. Indeed, this is one of the few historical pictures painted by Palizzi, who had been a pupil of Gabriele Smargiassi (1798-1882) at the Academy in Naples. It is a successful synthesis of Palizzi's experiences as a painter of nature subjects and his sporadic activity as an historical painter.

This heroic image is very close in spirit to the accounts of Garibaldi's trip to New York and Central America, where he was admired for his "easy, frank, and unassuming carriage," for his "free and athletic movements," and for his magnetic personality (G.M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, Burgay, Suffolk, 1965). This painting dates from the time of that American visit (1850-52). It is more likely, however, that Palizzi conceived the idea for the picture during the wave of enthusiasm in Italy for Garibaldi's exploits of 1848-49. The date of 1851 on the painting, in fact, may in this case indicate the date of completion of the work.

Provenance: Milan, antiquarian market.

Exhibitions: Cremona, 1940. Rome, 1982, no. I/3.3.8.

**Antonio Puccinelli**
**7.** *Ritratto di volontario toscano/Portrait of a Tuscan Volunteer*, 1849
Oil on canvas
31 × 24 cm./12¼ × 9½ in.
On the *verso*, in Puccinelli's hand: *Antonio Puccinelli il suo amico faceva nel 1849 [Antonio Puccinelli painted his friend in 1849]*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Rome 1982, I/4.1)

This portrait has been repeatedly neglected by scholars and critics, in spite of the fact that it has been hanging in the Pitti Palace for several years. Unfortunately almost nothing is known of its provenance nor has the the sitter wearing the uniform of the Tuscan volunteers been identified.

For Tuscan artists and intellectuals the campaign of 1848 constituted the first bitter blow to many of the liberal or democratic hopes that had led them to enlist as volunteers in a war that they had thought would be decisive. Emilio Vieusseux wrote from the front to his friend Vito D'Ancona in May 1848: "Poor Emilio! Poor all of us volunteers who are at Montanara. This is supposed to be life but the one we lead is the worst of all . . . Many will grow tired of this life, and of being treated as unfortunately as they treat us, before the game is over, but . . . most of us, and I hope I shall be among them, will remain, and they will be able, by God (if they return), to say that they've been through everything" (Dini, 1975).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1982, no. I/4.1.

**Antonio Puccinelli**
**8.** *Garibaldi/Garibaldi* (1859)
Oil on canvas transferred to panel
18.2 × 27.5 cm./7⅛ × 10¾ in.
Private collection, Turin
(Rome, N.G.M.A. 1982, no. 4)

Puccinelli painted this picture, as Panichi tells us, "well before 1861 (probably in 1859), when none of the artists of that school [i.e. the Macchiaioli] — not even De Tivoli, who was the first to bring that type of painting to Tuscany — would have done such a daring *macchia*" (*Vita d'Arte*, 1911, 1, 207-208). In this painting Puccinelli's rapidity of execution is transformed into an expressive storm. "Garibaldi's white horse biting the bit, the standing horse of the officer taking orders from him, and the horse rearing behind him, are masterfully modeled with a few vigorous brushstrokes; the red shirts of the officers and the soldiers following them stand out strikingly against the sky and the forest, which are only hinted at: it would seem that Puccinelli, who is more *Macchiaiolo* here than Fattori, had never done anything in his life except study horses."

Exhibitions: National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, 1982, no. 4.

**Gioacchino Toma**
**9.** *I figli del popolo/Children of the People,* 1862
Oil on canvas
34 × 25 cm./13⅜ × 9⅞ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *G. Toma,* and dated on the stand holding the portraits in the painting: *1862*
Pinacoteca Provinciale, Bari
(Rome 1982, I/7.8)

Toma himself recounts the genesis of this work, which was first shown at the Naples Promotrice of 1862: "In the meantime I had begun to paint, just for practice . . . and the first little picture I did in this new period was a trifle with two small children admiring the portraits of Garibaldi and Vittorio Emanuele, and I entitled it *Children of the People.* I presented this little picture at the first exposition of the Promotrice Society, but with so much fear and at such a low price that Domenico Morelli, who was then head of the Society, told the secretary to double the price. When the exposition opened, this poor little work did not displease; it was bought immediately and later brought me several commissions for pictures of that type, with which I managed to earn my bread for about a year" (Gioacchino Toma, *Autobiografia,* Naples, 1886).

The patriotic theme of most Risorgimento pictures, usually so seriously presented, is here transferred to the world of children. Indeed, the fascination of this painting, which reflects a certain taste of the southern Italian middle class of the time, lies precisely in this intimate, almost playful interpretation.

Provenance: Gift of Luigi Barbera to the City of Minervino Murge. Transferred to the Pinacoteca Provinciale, Bari, in 1929 (inv. no. 323).

Exhibitions: Naples, 1862. Rome, 1982, no. I/7.8.

**Unknown**
**10.** *Collage Garibaldino/Garibaldi Collage,* after 1862
Mixed media on paper
35 × 50 cm./13¾ × 19¾ in.
Spadolini Foundation, Florence
(Rome 1982, II/110.195)

The maker of this collage is unknown, and although the date is uncertain, the references to August 1862 in the printed materials suggest that it was a response to the events on the battlefield of Aspromonte on August 29th of that year. Garibaldi was wounded and captured at Aspromonte during one of his bold, but ill-fated attempts to free Rome from Papal rule. Popular opinion concluded that Garibaldi was the victim of political maneuvering within the new Piedmontese government, and a surge of passionate outrage and sympathy elevated Garibaldi, once again, to hero's status. It is possible that this collage was part of a wave of personal, popular imagery that was produced during this dramatic and emotional moment in Italian history.

Pieces of newspaper and a lottery ticket that are dated August 1862 and a set of "trick cards" signed 1862 have been inserted behind the photo portrait of Garibaldi. Fragments of words referring to Risorgimento events and people, such as "our independence" and "Vittorio Emanuele," are visible, and the short poem on Garibaldi refers to his passion for "liberty" and his commitment to "wage war against foreign oppressors until Italy should be free, united."

Exhibitions: Rome, 1982, no. II/10.195.

**Unknown**
**11.** *Ritratto di Giuseppe Garibaldi/Portrait of Giuseppe Garibaldi,* n.d.
Needlepoint
52 × 48 cm./20⅝ × 18⅞ in.
Spadolini Foundation, Florence
(Rome 1982, II/10.192)

The date of this needlepoint by an unidentified artist is uncertain because this kind of popular heroic imagery of Garibaldi was produced throughout the period of the Risorgimento. This portrait depicts the great leader as a commonly dressed soldier in the field. The brillant red of his shirt, however, strengthens the symbolic quality of the image. Garibaldi's Red Shirts became the symbol of not only the struggle to rid the country of foreign domination but also the hope of unifying the disparate elements of Italy into one independent nation. This is one of the most popular images of Garibaldi and was undoubtedly taken from a well-known lithograph (Rome, 1982, no. II/8.131) published in a series entitled *Glorie italiane* which shows Garibaldi in 1860, one of the crucial years of the Risorgimento. The lithograph in turn was taken from a popular photograph of Garibaldi from July 1860 (Rome 1982, no. III/5.69a). The pose of Garibaldi is the same as the one shown in Toma's *I figli del popolo* (1862) (cat. no. 9).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1982, no. II/10.192.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**12.** *Artiglieri toscani alla porta di una città Tuscan Artillery at the Entrance of a City,* 1859
Oil on canvas
68 × 52 cm 26¾ × 20½ in.
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1981, p. 57)

This work was formerly in the Checcucchi Collection, where it was mistakenly identified as *La presa di Porta Pia (The Taking of Porta Pia)* by Cabianca (Ojetti, 1928, no. 178, pl. XXXVI). The fact that the title is incorrect is confirmed by various elements: the city gate in the picture is not Porta Pia, the soldiers are not *bersaglieri* but Tuscan artillerymen, and the date of the painting cannot be 1870. In addition, three of Borrani's drawings from around 1859 (see Florence, 1981, pp. 56, 58, 59) clearly indicate that he was contemplating such a picture.

Provenance: Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 178, pl. xxxvi (attributed to Cabianca). La Stanzina Gallery Sale, 1983, p. 7.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1981, p. 57.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**13.** *Il 26 aprile 1859/The 26th of April 1859,* 1861 (Plate IV)
Oil on canvas
75 × 58 cm./29½ × 22⅞ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani '61*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 45)

The painting was shown by Borrani at the First National Exhibition in Florence in 1861. It reflects the atmosphere of democratic fervor accompanying the events of 1859, which forced Grand Duke Leopoldo II, under growing pressure from the Tuscan people, to flee Tuscany on April 27. However, this painting, which shows a young woman intent on sewing a tricolor flag on the day before the public demonstrations that led to the grand duke's flight, is much more than a mere historical document, and represents a very important moment in the development of realism in Tuscany, a development made possible to some degree by political events.

Borrani's work here remains partially within the tradition of historical painting, in which representations of monumental interiors often revealed — through flights of romantic fantasy — visible signs of a "glorious" past. However, *The 26th of April 1859* diverges from this tradition in the non-rhetorical and non-idealizing manner in which its political opinions are expressed; indeed, the tone of the work is intimate, and draws its force from an authentic experience of daily life. Borrani once again took up this theme, and further developed it in one of his masterpieces, *The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts* (cat. no.14).

Provenance: Umberto of Savoy, Prince of Carignano, Turin (Florence Cat., 1861). Finarte Sale, Milan, 1972, no. 53.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1861, p. 44, no. 604. Florence, 1973, no. 2, pl. 2. Munich, 1975-76, no. 44, pl. 44. Florence, 1976, no. 45. Paris, 1978-79, no. 21. Lugano, 1979, no. 19. Florence, 1981, no. 3. Rome, 1982, no. I/4.6., pp. 149-150. Rome, N.G.M.A., 1982, no. 6.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**14.** *Le cucitrici di camicie rosse/The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts,* 1863
Oil on canvas
66 × 54 cm./26 × 21½ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *O. Borrani 1863*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 157)

This masterpiece by Borrani constitutes an essential point of reference for our understanding of the importance of genre painting during the earliest years of Tuscan realism. Stripped of practically all the features which had distinguished the genre painting of artists such as Gerolamo Induno (1825-1890), Borrani's picture initiates a profound transformation of this tradition and adds a new ethical and emotional content. Gone are the playful and satirical references to social customs, the physiognomic studies and emotional gestures, and the technical verve which distinguished genre painting in the hands of Induno, and on which Cabianca also relied prior to 1858.

*The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts* was born in the climate of hope and popular enthusiasm for Garibaldi's campaign to conquer Rome, which was slowed down by the Battle of Aspromonte on August 29, 1862. The campaign was launched in order to wrest temporal power from the Pope and make the peninsula into a unified nation. The Church represented the last major obstacle to the unification process. In this most Catholic of countries, the Church offered resistance to the politi-

cians in Piedmont and Tuscany who pressured for change. While the Church might gain the thanks of the faithful for renouncing its possessions, it would also stand to lose much of its economic strength. Garibaldi took on the challenge and, acting on his own, moved on Rome. Without the support of Cavour, he had no chance to defeat the papal supporters, and was himself wounded at Aspromonte. However, his heroic act prompted the painting of this picture of patriots at work.

Borrani captures the women, who were relatives of Garibaldi's volunteer irregulars, working to support the campaign against Rome. Garibaldi's portrait is clearly seen on the wall in the background, indicating his hero's status. The painting possesses a rare warmth and delicacy, and despite its historical concerns, the emphasis is on the feminine, domestic side of the events of 1859. The painting stresses a sense of domestic intimacy and of the women's quiet dedication to the cause that reflects, in Italian society of the period, all that is kind, spiritual, and yet passionate in the political fervor of the people. The somewhat more rhetorical patriotism of *The 26th of April 1859* (cat. no. 13) is transformed here in the representation of the domestic inner sanctum and the intimacy of the women gathered at work. Although it carefully records in detail the Victorian setting and the figures, this new genre painting is not in the least a populist art. On the contrary, it reflects a genteel elegance and a low-key style of country life which the Tuscan aristocracy had used as a basis for its own political and moral code, and which was, in turn, handed down to the middle classes.

Borrani achieves a new unity of style, chiefly through the use of two symbolic elements: the considerable size of the figures in relation to the proportions of the painting itself, which seems to follow a fifteenth-century model (well known to Borrani from his years of copying Renaissance painting); and consistency of tone and value obtained through his handling of light.

Provenance: Edoardo Bruno, Florence (Cecchi, 1925-26, p. 664).

Exhibitions: Turin, 1863, p. 26, no. 471. Venice, 1928, p. 33, no. 27, repr. p. 26. Rome, 1930, p. 69, no. 13. Paris, 1935, p. 45, no. 30. Munich, 1975-76, no. 153, p. 153. Florence, 1976, no. 157. Paris, 1978-79, no. 90. Lugano, 1979, no. 90. Florence, 1981, no. 5. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 38. Rome, 1982, no. I/4.12, p. 156. Rome, N.G.M.A., 1982, no. 7.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**15.** *Soldati del '59/Soldiers of '59*, c. 1859
Oil on panel
18 × 26 cm./7⅛ × 9⅞ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*. On the *verso*: *Interno con due figure [Interior with Two Figures]*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 19)

This small painting is one of the best from Fattori's 1859 depictions of soldiers. Both in its subject matter and in its dark, calm tones, the work is the closest to the chromatic scale of *The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta* (cat. no. 19).

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence (Florence Cat., 1925). Alessandro Corradini, Florence. Corradini Sale, 1926, no. 60 pl. II. Ugo Ojetti, Florence. Paola Ojetti, Florence.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 9. Florence, 1925, room F, no. 39. Florence, 1973, no. 7, repr. Munich, 1975-76, no. 21, pl. 21. Florence, 1976, no. 19. Tokyo, 1979, no. 45, p. 72. Leghorn, 1980, no. 279. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 5.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**16.** *Soldati francesi alle Cascine/French Soldiers at the Cascine*, c. 1859
Oil on paper on canvas
14.5 × 43.5 cm./5¾ × 17⅛ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *G. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 17)

Fattori first experimented with the Macchiaioli style in 1859, when painting from life the French soldiers camped at the Pratone delle Cascine (a large park in Florence). The expeditionary corps under the command of Prince Jerome had landed at Leghorn at the end of May in order to give support to the political stance taken by Napoleon III toward the nascent Kingdom of Italy. The French forces stayed in Florence from May 28 until June 16.

Fattori executed three other paintings on the same subject, as well as a charcoal sketch (the one closest to this painting, and belonging to the same private collection) and numerous pages in his 1859 notebook.

Provenance: Mario Borgiotti, Milan. Giosi Gall. Sale, 1970, no. 16, repr.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 22. Paris, 1978-79, no. 11. Lugano, 1979, no. 11. Leghorn, 1983, no. 151.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**17.** *La battaglia di Magenta (bozzetto)*/***The Battle of Magenta*** (study), 1859-60
Oil on canvas
39 × 58.5 cm./15⅜ × 23 in.
Signed in the lower right: *Gio Fattori*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 23)

Published in the *Monitore toscano* on October 18, 1859, the regulations for what came to be known as the Ricasoli competition provided for four large military scenes depicting the battles of Curtatone, Palestro, Magenta, and San Martino, and required artists to submit "a *bozzetto* [preliminary study] of 1 *braccio* [about 60 cm.] by ⅔ *braccio*, and a cartoon of 3 by 2 *braccia*." The dimensions of this study correspond exactly to the ones specified in the regulations; hence there is no doubt that this is the study that Fattori submitted to the competition, executed certainly between the publication of the regulations on October 18, 1859 and the deadline for submitting entries, which was first set for December 31, 1859 and then extended to the end of February 1860. It seems that up to the last moment Fattori was reluctant to submit his picture to the jury and that he was finally convinced to do so by Nino Costa (see Fattori's memoirs in De Micheli, *Giovanni Fattori*, 1961; cf. also Durbé, *Disegni di Giovanni Fattori*, 1970). This study, which strangely enough remained unpublished until the Fattori exhibition of 1953, is one of the most evocative paintings of his early career. The judges of the competition did not fail to notice the immediacy of the impression from life ("The picture renders the character of the French troops so well, that one has the impression of being there among them," wrote the president of the Committee, the Marquis Feroni), which Fattori obtained through the studies he carried out in June 1859, and which he successfully wedded to a compositional idea that came out of the Italian tradition of historical painting.

Provenance: Domenico Trentacoste, Florence (Malesci, 1961). Ugo Ojetti, Florence. Paola Ojetti, Florence. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1973; purchased from Paola Ojetti; inv. no. 5589).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1860. Leghorn, 1953, no. 4, pl. 4. Florence, 1953, no. 4. Munich, 1975-76, no. 23, pl. 23. Florence, 1976, no. 23.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**18.** *Accampamento di bersaglieri*/***Bivouac of the Bersaglieri***, 1860
Oil on canvas
25 × 32 cm./9⅞ × 12⅝ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *Giovanni Fattori 1860*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 21)

This small work, dated 1860, should be considered among the most important military paintings by Fattori. With a spare, economical style it depicts a group of soldiers during a moment of rest from the rigors of military life, a constant theme in Fattori's paintings.

The *bersaglieri* were the most famous unit in the Piedmontese army, specially recruited and trained as light infantry. They can usually be recognized by the cockerel plumes in their caps. They gave their name to the Italian phrase *alla bersagliera*, meaning quickly, courageously, boldly.

Provenance: Luigi Bonerandi, Leghorn (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973). Alessandro Magnelli, Florence (Soffici, 1921). Magnelli Sale, 1929, no. 27, pl. 16. Raffaele Bastianelli, Rome. Lucilla Bastianelli, Rome (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973). Piero Dini, Milan (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 21, repr.).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 1. Munich, 1975-76, no. 20, pl. 20. Florence, 1976, no. 21. Tokyo, 1979, no. 46, p. 34. Leghorn, 1983, no. 155.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**19.** *Il campo italiano durante la battaglia di Magenta*/***The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta***, 1860-62
Oil on canvas
117.5 × 175 cm./46¼ × 68⅞ in.
Signed and dated: *Gio Fattori/di Livorno/-1862*
Private collection, Pistoia
(Florence, 1976, no. 24)

*The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta*, the first large-scale picture of a military subject painted by Fattori and the artist's first really ambitious work, was commissioned by the acting government of Tuscany. The work was the outcome of Fattori's participation in the competition announced by the Ricasoli government on September 23, 1859, shortly after Ricasoli had come to power.

The Battle of Magenta, one of the crucial events in the second Italian war of independence, was fought on June 4, 1859 by the Franco-Sardinian army against the Austrians in the vicinity of the small Lombard town of Magenta in the province of Milan along the Naviglio canal, not far from the Ticino River. Fattori personally visited the battlefield (as he himself recorded in an unpublished page of his memoirs) shortly after his first marriage, which took place in Leghorn on July 2, 1860. Fattori wrote that he set sail on a "seagoing steamboat" for Genoa and then went on to Turin, Milan, Magenta, and Solferino. The trip, which was paid for by the traveling allowance granted to Fattori by the government so that he could personally study the various battle sites, was also Fattori's honeymoon voyage.

Provenance: Innocenti Collection, Florence. Piero Dini, Milan. Manzoni Gall. Sale, 1970, no. 50, repr.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1862, no. 244. Florence, 1976, no. 24. Tokyo 1979, no. 48. Leghorn, 1983, no. 123.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**20.** *Accampamento/Bivouac*, c. 1860 (Plate III)
Oil on panel
14 × 37 cm./6 × 15 in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *G. Fattori*
Private collection, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 22)

This painting, which is so similar to Fattori's 1859 drawings, was probably done after Fattori met Costa. We can see Costa's influence in the rapid outlines of the soldiers, the rhythmic lines of the tents, the length of the panel itself, the movement of the light at various levels in the distance, and the rapidity of some of its landscape notations. The panel is very similar to some of Fattori's earliest landscapes done during his Leghorn period (for instance, the study that he did for the painting *Pastures in the Maremma*). Therefore it probably can be dated to the year 1860 or shortly thereafter.

Provenance: Gustavo Sforni, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913; Rome Cat., 1952). Giovanni Verusio, Rome.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 5, no. 20. Rome, 1952, p. 30, pl. X. Leghorn, 1953, no. 20, pl. 20. Florence, 1953, no. 20. Florence, 1976, no. 22. Paris, 1978-79, no. 11, Lugano, 1979, no. 11. Leghorn, 1983, no. 151.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**21.** *Garibaldi a Palermo/Garibaldi at Palermo*, c. 1860
Oil on canvas
88 × 132 cm./34⅝ × 52 in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 25)

This picture, which in all likelihood was painted between the end of 1860 and 1862, at the same time as *The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta* (cat. no. 19) and the *Carica di Cavalleria a Montebello (Cavalry Charge at Montebello)* is one of Fattori's first large patriotic paintings. In it he succeeded in giving form to his democratic, nationalistic sentiments and his Risorgimento ideals by using the new pictorial language of the *macchia*. The violent contrasts of light and dark and the spareness of the linear network remove any purely illustrative quality from the picture, while enhancing its sense of direct emotional involvement.

On May 12, 1860, when Fattori read in the *Monitore toscano* the news that he had won the Ricasoli competition which led to the commission for the *Battle of Magenta*, he could read on the very same page of the newspaper the announcement of the departure for Sicily of Garibaldi's Thousand. This could have been the inspiration for *Garibaldi at Palermo*, which until now has been known as *Garibaldi at Capua* since it was mistakenly interpreted as depicting the concluding episode of the expedition of the Thousand, i.e., the Battle of Capua, which was fought near the Volturno on October 1, 1860, after the liberation of Naples. But in this picture Fattori chose to depict an episode prior to that heroic expedition: the violent clashes that took place between May 27 and 29 at the gates of Palermo, shortly after the battle at the Ammiraglio Bridge and Garibaldi's entrance into the city, while the population everywhere was rising against the Bourbons.

The architectural setting in the background, in fact, is clearly identifiable as the sixteenth-century Porta Nuova in the southeastern area of Palermo, as it appeared in a series of photographs taken by Eugenio Sevaistre during and after the tragic events of those days. These photographs, which were immediately published with texts in various languages and circulated in an *Album* of lithographs published in Milan by the Terzaghi brothers (see L. Vitali, *Il Risorgimento nella fotografia*, Turin, 1979, p. 107), showed areas of Palermo (which Fattori did not visit in person as he did for the *Battle of Magenta*). Fattori certainly must have seen them, since he placed his battle scene in front of what is clearly identifiable as the Porta Nuova. But both the time and the place indicated in the painting, rather than responding to a purely documentary intent, seem instead to refer to an almost symbolic battle, with the providential appearance of the dark forms of Garibaldi and his faithful officers (perhaps Bixio, Nullo, and La Masa) on horseback standing out starkly against the gleam of the artillery fire.

Provenance: Alberto Bacolini (Malesci, 1961). Carini, Milan (De Micheli, 1961).

Exhibitions: Caserta, 1961 (Malesci, 1961). Florence, 1976, no. 25. Tokyo, 1979, no. 47. Rome, 1982, no. I/5.6. Rome, N.G.M.A., no. 1. Leghorn, 1983, no. 168.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**22.** *Maria Stuarda al campo di Crookstone*/***Mary Stuart on the Battlefield at Crookstone***, 1861
Oil on canvas
76 × 108 cm./29⅞ × 42½ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *Giovanni Fattori di Livorno-Anno 1861*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 9)

This painting was inspired by an episode in Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Abbot* (1820), which was available in numerous Italian translations. In writing about Nino Costa's visit to his studio in the late fall of 1859, Fattori mentioned a painting which "had a romantic flavor" and "depicted Mary Stuart visiting the field of battle, where she finds the body of one of her admirers who died fighting for her cause." Fattori also wrote that a small version of this picture was bought "in 1858 or '59 (I believe) by the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti of Florence, and is presently [1907] in the National Gallery in Florence . . ." (De Micheli, 1961, pp. 90-91). The painting here bears the date 1861 and is probably the definitive version of the picture Costa saw in 1859, which was a much smaller canvas, the painting last seen in a private collection in Parma more than 20 years ago. There are several preliminary drawings for the figures in this picture, which date from 1858-59. A small version which dates from around 1858 was seen in a private collection in Leghorn after World War II; its present location is unknown.

Provenance: Società Promotrice di Belle Arti, Florence (De Micheli, 1961, pp. 87-95). Academy of Fine Arts, Florence (A.F.A., Florence, 1869 cat., p. 58, room VI, no. 9). A.F.A., Florence, 1872 cat., p. 51, room VI, no. 9. Florentine Academy, 1884 cat., p. 163, room VI, no. 145. Florentine Academy, 1893 cat., p. 160, room VI, no. 142. Florentine Academy, 1901 Cat. and ff. editions, p. 146, room VI, no. 142. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. Cat. no. 229; G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 20).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1861 Promotrice, no. 110. Florence, 1925, no. 25, room C. Leghorn, 1953, no. 3. Florence, 1953, no. 3. Florence, 1973-74, pp. 336-337, repr. Florence, 1976, no. 9.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**23.** *Studio per l'assalto alla Madonna della Scoperta*/***Study for the Assault at Madonna della Scoperta***, c. 1864
Oil on canvas
30 × 70 cm./11¾ × 27½ in.
On the *verso*, in pen and ink, in Fattori's hand: *Gio. Fattori al dott. Paolo . . . 4 luglio 1864 [Giovanni Fattori to Dr. Paolo . . . 4 July 1864];* on the back of the stretcher, two stamps in sealing wax with a family crest
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 10)

This early version of *The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta* attests to the fact that the original idea for the picture was conceived well before the definitive version was completed, and is evidence of Fattori's slow, patient elaboration of his large military scenes.

*The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta*, is, chronologically speaking, the third large battle scene painted by Fattori, after *The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta* (cat. no. 19) of 1860-62 and the *Carica di cavalleria a Montebello (Cavalry Charge at Montebello)* of 1862; it can be considered his single most representative military painting. The battle at Madonna della Scoperta, a small village north of Solferino, was fought by the Piedmontese aginst the Austrians on June 24, 1859 in support of the French victory at nearby Solferino. Fattori was inspired to obtain as much accurate information as possible about the events of the battle, and finally went to the site itself. The composition of the painting faithfully represents both the topography of the site and the accounts of the battle with which Fattori must have been familiar.

Provenance: Gioacchino Mazzini, Leghorn.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 10.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**24.** *L'assalto alla Madonna della Scoperta (bozzetto)*/***The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta*** (study), c. 1866
Oil on panel
24 × 57 cm./9½ × 22½ in.
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 80)

This *bozzetto*, or preliminary study, for the *The Assault at Madonna della Scoperta* probably dates from around 1866, when the Berti Competition was announced. The definitive version of this painting, dated 1868 (G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn), can in many ways be considered the fitting conclusion to Fattori's Leghorn period. It has a free, almost wild quality which shows the influence of Fattori's contact with the landscape of Maremma.

Provenance: General Enrico Cariglia, Florence (Rome Cat., 1921). Sambalino Coll., Florence. Sambalino Sale, 1917, no. 167. De Marco Sale, 1918, no. 588. Riccardo Gualino, Turin (Leghorn Cat., 1953).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 5. Leghorn, 1953, no. 11, pl. 11. Florence, 1953, no. 11. Rome, 1956, no. 88, pl. 35. Munich, 1975-76, no. 73, pl. 73. Florence, 1976, no. 80. Paris, 1978-79, no. 40. Lugano, 1979, no. 40.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**25.** *Torre del Marzocco/Marzocco Tower*, c. 1870-75
Oil on panel
14 × 30 cm./5½ × 11¾ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Florence 1976, no. 114)

There has been some debate as to the identity of this tower. The painting has traditionally been called the *Marzocco Tower* and could depict the octagonal structure that housed the cannons during the defense of Leghorn against the Austrians in 1849. Indeed, the strategic importance of this tower would have probably appealed to Fattori. Nevertheless, it is much more likely that the structure in this painting is the medieval tower of Magnale, which was destroyed during World War II. Many stylistic affinities between this painting and Fattori's work from the Castiglioncello period indicate that the panel dates from the years between 1870 and 1875, rather than from the period around 1865, as was previously supposed.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence. G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn (since Dec. 1908; purchased from Giovanni Malesci; inv. no. 10. Leghorn Museum Cat., 1935, no. 12, repr. Leghorn Museum Cat., 1950, room VI, no. 4, pl. 8. Fattori Cat., Leghorn, 1973, p. 16, repr. p. 17).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925, room D, no. 3. Rome, 1927-28, no. 9. Leghorn, 1953, no. 35, pl. 35. Florence, 1953, no. 35. Rome, 1956, np. 114, pl. 46. The Hague, 1972-73, no. 32, pl. 15. Munich, 1975-76, no. 111, pl. 111. Florence, 1976, no. 114.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**26.** *La vedetta/The Look-Out*, c. 1872
Oil on canvas
37 × 56 cm./14½ × 22 in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 219)

This picture (also known as *Il muro bianco/The White Wall)* is one of Fattori's most famous works, and can perhaps be identified with a picture of the same title exhibited at the 1870 Promotrice in Turin, although not conclusively, as Fattori frequently painted such subjects. The perspective rendering of the wall, the strongly modeled outlines, and the luminous scansion of the blocks of color, show an affinity with Fattori's *Barocci romani (Roman Carts)* in the Gallery of Modern Art in the Pitti Palace, dated 1872. It is possible that the two works are contemporary.

Provenance: Rinaldo Carnielo, Florence (Focardi, 1911). Mario Vannini-Parenti, Florence (Papini-Nomellini-Focardi, 1926). Alfredo Geri, Milan. Geri Sale, 1931, no. 34, pl. 95. Aldo Borelli, Milan. *'800* Sale, Gall. dell'Arte, 1932. Paolo Marzotto, Rome (Marzotto Coll., 1937, no. 91, pl. 46).

Exhibitions: Turin, 1870, no. 94. Florence, 1892-93, room III, no. 193. Milan, 1897, room g., no. 214. Florence, 1910, no. 491. Florence, 1925, room B, no. 27. Berlin, 1937, room 2, no. 42. New York, 1949, no. 70, pl. 70. Rome, 1956, no. 143, pl 50. Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 32. pl. 11. Munich, 1975-76, no. 208, pl. 208. Florence, 1976, no. 219.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**27.** *Soldato a cavallo/Soldier on Horseback*, n.d.
Oil on canvas
17.8 × 24.8 cm./7 × 9¾ in.
Private collection, Beverly Hills

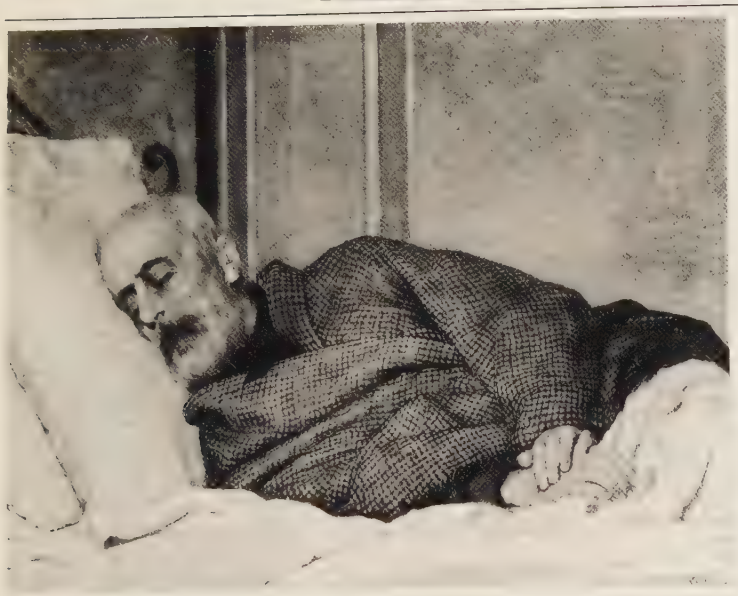
This small picture is one of the many studies of military figures which Fattori produced in the latter part of his career. Because of its stylistic affinities with *The Look-Out* (cat. no. 26) it may be dated to the 1870s.

Provenance: Private collection, Leghorn.

**Silvestro Lega**
**28.** *Ritratto di Garibaldi/Portrait of Garibaldi*, c. 1850
Oil on canvas
101 × 77 cm./39¾ × 30⅜ in.
Civic Museum, Modigliana
(Bologna 1973, no. 96)

Lega painted this solemn portrait of the hero of the Risorgimento shortly after the fall of the Roman Republic in 1849. Lega had been a Tuscan volunteer in 1848 and until his death remained a fervent republican.

Provenance: City of Modigliana.
Exhibitions: Bologna, 1973, no. 96.



**Silvestro Lega**
**29.** *Mazzini Morente/Mazzini on His Deathbed*, 1873
Oil on canvas
60 × 90 cm./23⅝ × 35½ in.
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Helen M. Danforth Fund
(Rome 1982, I/8.4)

Giuseppe Mazzini, a leading figure in the Italian struggle for unity and independence, died in Pisa in the house of friends on March 10, 1872. Immediately upon receiving the news, Lega rushed to Pisa, where he made several sketches for this picture of the dying patriot.

This painting stands out in Lega's work because it is quite different from the humble scenes and tender, melancholy tone that characterize his works from this time. Indeed, it is a very powerful image in spite of — or because of — its simplicity of style and strong yet controlled sense of drama. And, significantly, this picture, Lega's last tribute to the revered apostle of the ideals of his youth, foretold a period of serious emotional and artistic crisis in the life of Lega, who in 1874, according to Signorini, "was prey to such a sense of discouragement and sadness that we were seriously worried about him." (Tinti, 1926).

**Silvestro Lega**
**30.** *Don Giovanni Verità/Don Giovanni Verità*, 1885
Oil on canvas
45 × 34 cm./17¾ × 13⅜ in.
Civic Museum, Modigliana
(Bologna 1973, no. 78)

This profile portrait, executed in a painterly style, depicts the patriot Don Giovanni Verità, who was a priest in Lega's native Modigliana, a small town in the Tuscan Romagna. Verità, a member of Mazzini's Giovine Italia and an ardent supporter of Garibaldi, was a close friend of Lega. He helped Garibaldi escape from the Austrians in 1849, and even hid him in his own home after the death of Garibaldi's wife Anita.

Provenance: City of Modigliana.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1893, no. 328. Florence, 1910, no. 102. Florence, 1921, no. 62. Modigliana, 1926, no. 94. Faenza, 1955, no. 307. Rome, 1956, no. 185. Modigliana, 1960, Bologna, 1973, no. 78.

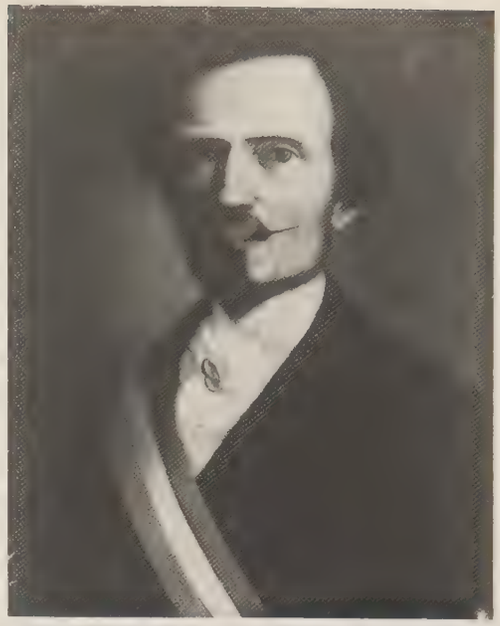
**Raffaello Sernesi**
**31.** *Ritratto di Bettino Ricasoli/Portrait of Bettino Ricasoli*, c. 1859
Oil on canvas
41 × 33 cm./16⅛ × 13 in.
Museum of the Risorgimento, Milan
(Daddi, pp. 80-81, pl. IV)

This painting is dated around the year 1859 because of the announcement of the Ricasoli competitions for fine artists in September of that year. This was the year of the strongest patriotic propaganda of the Risorgimento in Florence, and it was Ricasoli who stimulated the fervor. By 1859, Sernesi had joined the political and artistic circle of the Caffè Michelangiolo and would soon become a volunteer in the Nationalist army. It seems likely that this formal portrait was painted by the young patriot at the height of Ricasoli's leadership and support of artists in Florence.

Baron Bettino Ricasoli (1809-1880) had descended from one of the oldest of the noble families in Tuscany, and had inherited control of the vineyards of the Chianti hills. In the 1840s, he became the leader of the liberal minority among the Florentine aristocracy. He became head of the Provisional Government in Tuscany after the flight of Grand Duke Leopoldo II in 1859, and served as Prime Minister of the Italian union between 1861 and 1862 and again from 1866 to 1867. The graphic portrait which still appears on the labels for Ricasoli wine (fig. 7) bears a striking resemblence in pose and facial features to the Sernesi portrait.

Provenance: Emanuele Rosselli, Viareggio. Rosselli Sale, 1931, pl. XL, no. 71. Cat. G.M.A. Milan, 1935, no. 2063, p. 478.

Exhibitions: Milan, 1959, pl. xxxiv. Turin 1961. Leghorn, 1983, no. 1.



**Telemaco Signorini**
**32.** *L'artiglieria toscana a Montechiaro salutata dai francesi feriti a Solferino/The Tuscan Artillery at Montechiaro Saluted by the French Wounded at Solferino,* 1859-60
Oil on canvas
60 × 117 cm./25⅝ × 46 in.
Private collection, Valdagno
(Broude, *Art Bulletin,* Sept. 1980, fig. 3)

This painting, which Signorini showed at the Florence Promotrice of 1860 with considerable success, depicts the Tuscan Artillery being saluted by the French soldiers who had been wounded at the Battle of Solferino. The canvas, which Signorini painted in the months after his discharge from the Tuscan artillery unit in October 1859, reflects the pressure on painters at this time, especially in Florence, to paint patriotic scenes; it was purchased by Prince Eugenio Carignano of the house of Savoy.

Signorini painted a preliminary study, or *bozzetto,* for this picture, the whereabouts of which are presently unknown. But as Norma Freedman Broude (Broude, 1980) points out, even the definitive painting retains a great deal of the "bold contrasts and simplifications of the sketching style."

Provenance: Prince of Carignano. Gen. Edoardo Nasi, Turin. Marzetto collection, 1937, pl. 50.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1926, no. 15.

## THE EARLY YEARS

The decade stretching from the 1848 Revolution to 1859, the year of the Second War of Italian Independence, is characterized in Florentine art by the work of the Purists, which had begun to reflect the influence of recent French painting, especially that of Ingres. The specific tendencies of the Tuscan Purists played an important role in the development of the Macchiaioli. Nearly all of the Macchiaioli participated in some way in this wave of artistic innovation in Florence at the very moment when the young Degas, who resided in Italy from 1856 to 1858, began to visit the Caffè Michelangiolo.

The artistic circle of the Caffè Michelangiolo was in continual ferment following the 1856 return from the Paris Universal Exposition of the Neapolitans Domenico Morelli and Saverio Altamura, and the Leghorn artist Serafino De Tivoli. These three artists brought back news of the current Parisian painting, especially the Barbizon school, and they enthusiastically defended it in discussions and debates with their Florentine friends. At approximately the same time, a number of these artists began to visit the Demidoff collection at the San Donato villa, which included current French, seventeenth-century Dutch, and eighteenth-century English paintings. The combination of their exposure to these various realist trends and their own desires to respond to the contemporary life and events of Risorgimento Italy led to the development of a form of observation and notation from life, characterized by sincerity and freshness, previously used only for preparatory sketches.

Antonio Puccinelli's *Promenade at the Muro Torto*, painted around 1852, is a work that anticipates the new aesthetic sensibility, taking the rapid and synthetic technique of the preparatory sketch and successfully applying it to a subject from modern life. This same process acquired special overtones when the influence of Decamps' style led a number of the younger painters to attempt their first *macchia* works — which refers to the juxtaposition of areas or patches of color *(macchie)* that vividly contrast with each other. From the initial concept of the *macchia* as "an accentuation of chiaroscuro in painting" the artists developed a technique to study the effects of light in specific locations. The *macchia* began, in other words, to serve as a means for artists such as Abbati, Banti, D'Ancona, Sernesi, and Signorini to establish direct contact with nature and to capture on canvas the immediate effects of the play of light and shadow.

## Non-Macchiaioli Paintings

**Giovanni Costa**
**33.** *Donne che imbarcano legna a Porto d'Anzio/Women Loading Wood at Porto d'Anzio*, 1852
Oil on canvas
73 × 147 cm./28¾ × 57⅞ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *G. Costa, 1852*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 15)

This canvas was produced by the painter when he was 26 years old, at the end of a long period of painting from nature in the Roman *campagna*. It is representative of Costa's early style and exemplifies the artist's interest in a type of romantic naturalism typical of the Neapolitan "view" painters. After arriving in Florence near the end of 1859, Costa strongly influenced the circle of artists at the Caffè Michelangiolo. He urged them, particularly Giovanni Fattori, to make landscape painting their primary form of expression. He thus made a significant contribution to the renewal and elaboration of landscape painting in Tuscany.

The theme of women gathering or carrying brushwood can be found in later paintings by the Macchiaioli such as Fattori's *Contadina nel bosco (Peasant Woman in the Woods)* (1861) (cat. no. 59), his masterwork *Le Macchiaiole (The Brush Gatherers)* (c. 1865), and Cristiano Banti's various versions of *Boscaiole con fascine (Wood Gatherers with Faggots)* (c. 1881-84). Wood collecting, contrary to the impression given by this painting, was one of the most arduous tasks of the peasant, who had a legal right to collect the underbrush of the forests and countryside. This right provided them with partial means of subsistence as the wood could be used or sold for firewood, or converted to charcoal. Costa's romantic depiction of this difficult and burdensome task shows the peasant women dramatically silhouetted against the sky. (Cabianca was to use a similar composition in his paintings of the 1860s depicting peasant women at La Spezia.) Costa wrote of his inspiration for this work: "In the morning after a rainy night, as the sun was beginning to clear, I saw some women who had some strange burdens on their heads which I later learned were roots of trees which they were loading on to a boat."

Provenance: National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, (Purchased at the Fifth Art Exposition, Venice) 1903, no. 1232. Cat. N.G.M.A., 1917, p. 22. N.G.M.A. Cat., 1923, p. 68. N.G.M.A. Cat., 1932, p. 22. N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 16, repr. p. 81. N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 23.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1856[?] (Bucarelli, 1956). Florence, 1861, no. 777. Paris, 1862 (Costa 1927, p. 144). Venice, 1903, no. 12, repr. p. 58. Rome, N.C., 1927, no. 11. Venice, 1928, no. 60. Berlin, 1937, no. 38. Rome, 1956, no. 3. Munich, 1975-76, no. 15, pl. 15. Florence, 1976, no. 15. Rome, N.G.M.A., 1982, no. 3.

**Giovanni Costa**
**34.** *Una sera alle Cascine/An Evening at the Cascine,* c. 1859-60 (?)
Oil on panel
39 × 66 cm./15⅜ × 26 in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *G. Costa*
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 2)

painting was sent to London — along with two other works — in 1872, for an exhibition at the Royal Academy. However, we cannot be certain that this is the same painting that Rossetti-Agresti mentions, for its stylistic features appear to date it to the years 1859-1860, when Costa first arrived in Florence.

Costa was primarily a landscape painter, and was in part responsible for bringing the idea of outdoor painting to the artists at the Caffè Michelangiolo. Some of his paintings of the late 1850s show the influence of French realism, and were particularly influential for Fattori's development towards a more innovative landscape style. In the late 1870s Costa, influenced by his contacts with English culture and his success with the English public, returned to a more sentimental and romantic style of painting.

In her biography of Costa, Rossetti-Agresti speaks at length about a painting by Costa entitled *An Evening in the Cascine, Florence*, which was done during the artist's stay in Florence from 1867 to 1870. That

Provenance: Stopford Brooke, London. Christie's Sale, London, 11 Feb. 1977, no. 103. Private collection, Milan.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 2. Milan, June 1982, no. 15. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 3.

**Giovanni Costa**
**35.** *Paesaggio presso Livorno/Landscape near Leghorn,* 1860
Oil on canvas
23.3 × 46 cm./9⅛ × 18⅛ in
Private collection, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 51)

Few other paintings show the effects of the intimate working relationship between Costa and Fattori as well as this one. The characteristic setting, the gentle lines of the tamarisks, the tangled branches that set off the distant perspectives, the intense luminosity of the blue streaks of sea and sky, the theme of the small white houses, and the motif of the small goat in the foreground, are all typical of Fattori's work during his stay in Leghorn.

Provenance: Piero Dini, Milan.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1927. Munich, 1975-76, no. 50, pl. 50. Florence, 1976, no. 51.

**Giovanni Costa**
**36.** *Ritratto di giovinetta/Portrait of a Young Girl,* c. 1861
Oil on cardboard
30 × 22 cm./11¾ × 8⅝ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *G. Costa*
Private collection, Massa
(Florence 1976, no. 50)

The date of this portrait is not known, but it probably belongs to Costa's first Florentine period, for it possesses a certain atmosphere of gentleness and serenity, and an immediacy of execution, that are rarely displayed in the artist's other periods. It has affinities with certain portraits by Corot which Costa might have seen during his 1861 trip to Paris, as well as with Fattori's *Cousin Argia* (cat. no. 60). What is most striking about this picture is the mask-like countenance of the young girl: the personality of the sitter is secondary to the mood established by the landscape and costume. Costa's work shows a certain tendency toward primitivism, perhaps in part brought about by his interest in a revival of styles and forms from Italy's artistic heritage.

Provenance: Costa Estate, Rome (Somarè, 1928). Francesco Sapori, Rome (Sapori, 1924). Giosi Gall. Sale, 1970, no. 8. Giuliano Matteucci, Viareggio.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 49, pl. 49. Florence, 1976, no. 50. Paris, 1978-79, no. 24. Lugano, 1979, no. 24. Milan, June 1982, no. 13.

**Giovanni Costa**
**37.** *Ritratto di giovinetto/Portrait of a Young Boy*, c. 1862
Oil on panel
57 × 47.5 cm./22½ × 18¾ in.
Private collection, Rome
(Somarè 1928, vol. II, pl. 13)

This picture, which has not been exhibited for many years, is one of Costa's largest portraits and introduces the Macchiaioli approach to portraiture. The naturalness of the sitter's pose, the openness of his expression, the broad white expanse of his jacket, and the overall intonation foreshadowed the intimate, gentle tone that would be characteristic of the "school" of Piagentina.

Provenance: Costa Estate, Rome. Guerrazzi Collection, Rome.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1938, no. 7.

**Serafino De Tivoli**
**38.** *Paesaggio/Landscape*, 1856
Oil on canvas
43 × 64.5 cm./17 × 25⅜ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *S. De Tivoli 1856*
Private collection, Novara
(Manchester 1982, no. 2)

This painting shows the influence of the Barbizon school on the Tuscan school. De Tivoli, who was born in Leghorn, was among the first group of artists who frequented the Caffè Michelangiolo. In 1855 he visited the Paris Universal Exposition (together with Saverio Altamura and Domenico Morelli), as well as the studios of Constant Troyon, Gabriel Decamps, and Rosa Bonheur. These contacts were of crucial importance for the development of the new Italian style.

De Tivoli was in fact known as the "father of the *macchia*" because his work stimulated the experiments of the younger artists. His contribution was mostly of a technical nature, modeled after the French school: the use of Decamps' "black mirror;" the application of skillful, light brushstrokes "piercing" the canvas above the dark masses of the trees to obtain luminous effects; and the contrasts of tone and value.

The composition of the painting has earlier precedents: the winding road with a figure on a horse in the center of the picture, the silhouetted trees carefully placed for balance on either side of the road, and the cow in the foreground, are all elements to be found in the stereotypical landscapes of Dutch painters such as Meindart Hobbema or in later works by Troyon. This painting illustrates that while it is known that the *macchia* technique was in part taken from the work of the Barbizon painters, an area still to be studied is the compositional experimentation of the Macchiaioli, especially that done at Castiglioncello.

Exhibitions: Tokyo, 1979, no. 43. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 2.

**Serafino De Tivoli**
**39.** *Portico di villa toscana/Portico of a Tuscan Villa*, c. 1861
Oil on canvas
42 × 54.5 cm./16½ × 21½ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *S. De Tivoli*
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 5)

The same image of the portico depicted here (probably taken from one of the villas around Florence) can be found in a well-known painting by Banti now in the Gallery of Modern Art in Milan. This similarity suggests a period during which the two painters worked together, some time around 1861, which is the probable date of this painting. The chiaroscuro and the rendering of shadows in this work bear a striking resemblance to the studies done by Banti and Cabianca at Piantavigne, Montemurlo, and La Spezia.

The idea of the "villa" in Tuscany — country life as opposed to town life — was central to the rural, or in some cases "suburban" life of the Tuscan upper classes. It was from the villas of friends or patrons that the Macchiaioli ventured forth to create vibrant images of the surrounding landscape.

Provenance: Mario Borgiotti, Milan.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 5.

**Antonio Puccinelli**
**40.** *La passeggiata del Muro Torto/Promenade at the Muro Torto*, 1852
Oil on canvas
44 × 56 cm./17⅜ × 22 in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *A. Puccinelli, 1852*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 2)

Puccinelli painted this work in 1852, at the end of his period of residence in Rome. It is a typical example of the synthetic and abbreviated style, built on strong contrasts of light and dark, commonly used by other artists in this period to do preparatory sketches for large historical paintings. The most noteworthy feature of this painting is the artist's use of this immediate and fluid technique to depict a subject from modern life which genre painters had traditionally treated with an extremely polished style. The broad areas of color and the emphasis on the effects of light during a particular moment of the day in the *Promenade* demonstrate the relationship between this type of sketch and the Macchiaioli outdoor paintings of the following decade.

Provenance: Rodolfo Panichi, Florence. Panichi Sale, 1914, no. 244. Ugo Ojetti, Florence (Cecchi, 1925). Private collection, Florence.

Exhibitions: Venice, 1928, no. 209. Rome, 1956, no. 9, fig. 4. Florence, 1976, no. 2. Paris, 1978-79, no. 2. Lugano, 1979, no. 2. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 1.

**Antonio Puccinelli**
**41.** *Ritratto di Nerina Badioli/Portrait of Nerina Badioli*, c. 1866
Oil on canvas
56 × 42.5 cm./22 × 16¾ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *A. Puccinelli*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 4)

This painting is a portrait of a cousin of Adelaide Badioli, the artist's second wife, whom he married in 1865. It can be dated to this period because of the close resemblance of the girl's hairstyle to those of the women in Fattori's *Rotonda di Palmieri (The Palmieri Pavilion)* (1866) (Florence 1976, no. 68). In addition, the portrait of Nerina Badioli marks Puccinelli's passage from his earlier rigorous Purist style of the *Portrait of Lady Morocchi* (c. 1855-60) (Florence 1976, no. 3) to a style closer to that of the Macchiaioli.

Provenance: Margherita Ruffino Badioli, Pistoia, mother of the young woman in the portrait (Cecchi, Feb. 1927). Adelaide Badioli Puccinelli, the artist's widow *(ivi)*. A Prato dealer *(ivi)*. Mario Galli, Florence, *(ivi)*. Galli sale, 1927, no. 83, pl. II. Emilio Cecchi, Florence. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (1927, purchased from preceding owner, inv. no. 2795; N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 11, repr. p. 74; N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 16).

Exhibitions: Venice, 1928, no. 208. London, 1930, no. 871. Venice, 1934, no. 38. Rome, 1938, no. 42. Rome, 1956, no. 10. Munich, 1975-76, no. 4, pl. 4. Florence, 1976, no. 4. Paris, 1978-79, no. 4. Lugano, 1979, no. 4.

**Federico Zandomeneghi**
**42.** *Lettrice/Woman Reading*, c. 1860-66
Oil on panel
38 × 30 cm./15 × 11¾ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Tokyo 1979, no. 120)

We know that Zandomeneghi stopped in Florence in 1860, after having taken part in Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily. Only in 1862, however, did he make Florence his place of full-time residence, not long after his ill-fated return to Venice and subsequent arrest by the Austrian police. The date of his first direct contacts with the circle of artists at the Caffè Michelangiolo can be therefore placed sometime between 1860 and 1862. This painting is one of the few known examples of Zandomeneghi's early encounter with the Caffè Michelangiolo group. Zandomeneghi, while profoundly influenced by the Macchiaioli during the early and mid-1860s, spent the latter part of his artistic career in Paris. He moved to Paris in 1872 where he came into contact, via an introduction by Diego Martelli, with the Impressionists, particularly Alfred Sisley, Camille Pissarro, and Edgar Degas.

Provenance: Torniolo, Venice. Aldo Furlanetto, Venice. Enrico Piceni, Milan.

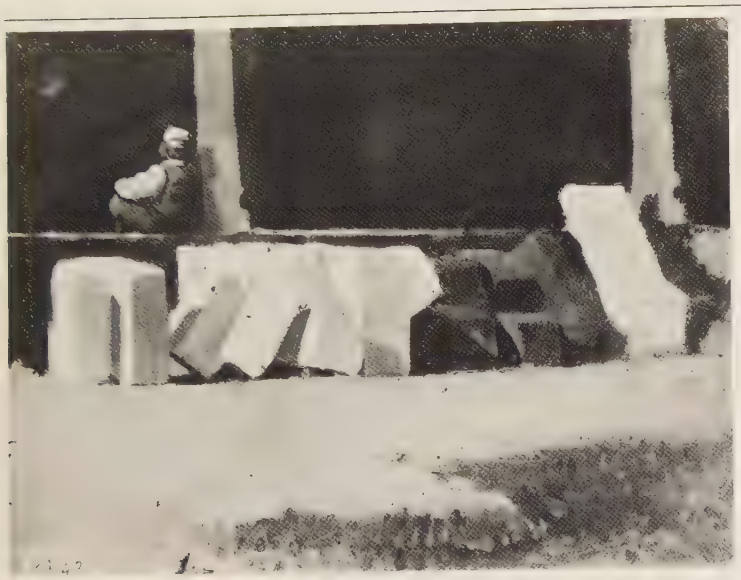
Exhibitions: Tokyo, 1979, no. 120. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 11. Pistoia, 1983, p. 81.

**Giuseppe Abbati**
**43.** *Testa di giovane donna Head of a Young Woman*, c. 1861
Oil on drawing board
32 × 27 cm. 15⅛ × 10⅝ in
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 44)

This *Head of a Young Woman* can be identified as one of the first portraits Abbati did in Florence. Traces of Abbati's Venetian and Neapolitan experiences can still be seen in the painting, but the extreme simplification of form and the sparse use of color point to the influence of the Tuscan school.

Provenance: Fernando Liuzzi, Rome (Somarè, 1928). *Pitt. '800* Sale, 1939, no. 1, pl. 1. Renato Tassi, Florence. S. Luca Gall. Sale, 1969.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 44. Tokyo, 1979, no. 2, p. 47. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 10.



**Giuseppe Abbati**
**44.** *Chiostro/Cloister*, c. 1861-62
Oil on drawing board
19.3 × 25.2 cm./7⅝ × 9⅞ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *G.A. 43*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 43)

Baldaccini (1947, pp. 39 and 75) claims that the *Cloister* was completed in 1863, but it is more likely one of the works painted by Abbati immediately after his success at the 1861 National Exhibition in Florence, where he exhibited his paintings of the interior of San Miniato. Martelli (1952) tells us that soon afterwards Abbati "began to study intensively in the cloisters of Santa Croce, where, due to the restoration in progress, there were many piles of marble of different colors. Abbati was able to study the various kinds of marble both in terms of the clearly-defined mass of each one and the sharp contrasts between them, which (I would say) constitute practically the most basic contrasts of color and chiaroscuro."

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Cecchi, Aug.-Sept. 1927). Gallery of Modern Art, Florence (since 1932; purchased from Mario Galli; Gen. Cat. no. 175).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 205 or 345 [?]. Paris, 1935, p. 39, no. 16. Rome, 1956, no. 266, pl. 90. The Hague, 1972-73, pl. 11. Munich, 1975-76, no. 43, pl. 43. Florence, 1976, no. 43. Paris, 1978-79, no. 18. Lugano, 1979, no. 18.

**Cristiano Banti**
**45.** *Riunione di contadine/Gathering of Peasant Women*, 1861
Oil on canvas
31.3 × 46.4 cm./12⅜ × 18¼ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *C. Banti/61*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 31)

Giuliano Matteucci in his 1982 catalogue on Banti writes: "Even though Banti was among the first to paint according to the principles of the *macchia*, he cannot be considered one of the significant emerging personalities of the Macchiaioli movement, like Fattori, Abbati, or Lega . . . [Banti] is a complex figure because he adhered to the ideals and goals of the Macchiaioli movement, albeit with totally unique concerns which make him an 'independent' artist." Banti was also independent in another respect: he was to inherit money and property from the Marquess Maria Vettori and was in effect relieved of the burden of earning his living through his art.

Both this work and Cabianca's painting of an analogous subject, *Le contadine di toscana (Tuscan Peasant Women)* date from 1861. Cecioni (1905) described the two artists' activities at this time: "In 1861 Cabianca and Banti continued their studies, following the work that they had already done at Montemurlo and La Spezia, in a town called Piantavigne, near Castelfranco. Here the two friends studied assiduously and with great intensity."

Provenance: Banti Estate, Florence. Uffizi Gallery, Florence (from 1908; purchased from Banti's heirs, inv. 1890 no. 3396). Gallery of Modern Art, Florence (from 1924; Gen. Cat no. 252. G.M.A., Florence, 1934 Itin., room XXI. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 25.)

Exhibitions: Prato, 1965, no. 40. Santa Croce sull'Arno, 1969, no. 31. Florence, 1976, no. 31. Milan, *Banti*, 1982, no. 12.

**Cristiano Banti**
**46.** *Riunione di contadine/Gathering of Peasant Women,* 1861
Oil on canvas
59 × 84 cm./23¼ × 33 in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *C. Banti 61.*
Private collection, Milan
(Munich 1975-76, no. 32)

The work shown here is a larger version of the preceding painting; it is, however, a less finished and less carefully detailed version. Most historians believe that Banti, after having completed the smaller version in its highly finished form, set about to execute a larger painting of the same scene in a freer, more abbreviated style. It is these stylistic qualities which give this rather large painting (one of Banti's most noteworthy works) the appearance of being a first impression painted from nature.

Provenance: Checcucci Sale, 1913, no. 20. Ugo Ojetti, Florence. Paola Ojetti, Florence. Mazzoni Gall. Sale, 1972, no. 97. pl. 3. Stair Sainty Matthiesen Sale, 1984, no. 4.

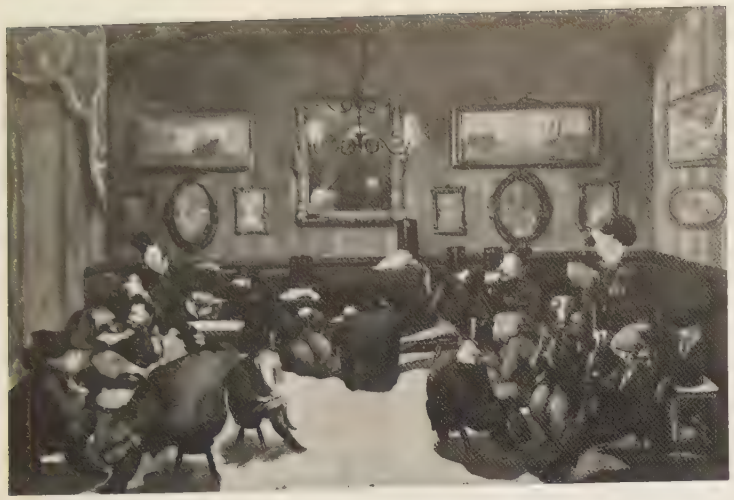
Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 612. Munich, 1975-76, no. 32, pl. 32. Paris, 1978-79, no. 9. Lugano, 1979, no. 9. Milan, *Banti,* 1982, no. 13.

**Vincenzo Cabianca**
**47.** *Contadina a Montemurlo/Peasant Woman at Montemurlo,* 1862
Oil on canvas
26.3 × 13.2 cm./10⅜ × 5¼ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *V.C.*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 33)

This *Peasant Woman at Montemurlo* is the most important surviving painting from the group of works executed by Cabianca between 1861 and 1862 while in the company of Banti in the countryside between Montemurlo and Piantavigne. In the spring of 1861 Cabianca had traveled with Banti and Signorini to Paris where he was particularly impressed by the work of Decamps. The technique of this painting shows the boldness of Cabianca's *macchia* style and clearly demonstrates how the mass of the figure is delineated by blocking out broad areas of light and shadow. Cecioni (1905) included Cabianca as one of "those few select painters who are strictly bound to the program of the new art" and as one of the most loyal followers of the fundamental principles of that art.

Provanance: Adelaide Cabianca, Rome. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1938; purchased from Adelaide Cabianca, inv. no. 3547. N.G.M.A., 1959 Itin., p. 50, 1856. N.G.M.A. 1973 Itin., p. 131).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1902, no. 11. Rome, 1925, no. 8. Rome, 1938, no. 34. Rome, 1956, no. 45, pl. 17. Munich, 1975-76, no. 31, pl. 31. Florence, 1976, no. 33.



**Adriano Cecioni**
**48.** *Il Caffè Michelangiolo/The Caffè Michelangiolo,* c. 1860s
Watercolor on paper
53.5 × 82 cm./21 × 32¼ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 1)

This watercolor, which formerly belonged to Signorini and was kept by him as a cherished possession, provides a lively record of the democratic, debate-filled ambience of the famous Caffè Michelangiolo. The Caffè was situated on one of the most beautiful streets of mid-nineteenth-century Florence, the Via Larga, which after the unification of Italy became Via Cavour. According to Signorini, who chronicled the history of the Caffè in *Caricaturisti e caricaturati al Caffè Michelangiolo (Caricaturists and the Caricatured at the Caffè Michelangelo)* (Florence, 1893), by the 1850s it had become the gathering place of almost all the painters who had taken part in the military campaigns in Lombardy in 1848 and in the defense of Venice, Bologna, and Rome in 1849.

The politically active art critic and patron of the Macchiaioli, Diego Martelli, also frequented the Caffè. It was probably here that he met artists such as Borrani and invited them to his home in Castiglioncello to paint in the clear light of ocean air. This group not only painted at the Castiglioncello villa; they also continued the type of discussions begun at the Caffè Michelangiolo regarding the current political situation in Florence and elsewhere in Italy. At first the Caffè depended on the political passions of the time for its uniquely animated atmosphere. But the golden age of the Caffè, according to Signorini, from 1855 to 1863, was the time when it was the single most important place in Italy for discussions about modern art, in particular about the new French realism. Because Florence was politically more tolerant than other cities on the peninsula at the time, artists flocked there not only from every corner of Italy, but also from abroad: James Joseph Tissot, Gustave Moreau, Marcellin-Gilbert Desboutin, and the young Edgar Degas all visited the Caffè when they traveled to Florence.

The date of the watercolor is uncertain. It appears to have been produced after 1861, since none of the frescoes painted by various artists prior to that year can be seen on the walls of the Caffè, and according to Signorini, they were covered with whitewash soon after 1861. It has been postulated that the watercolor was done some time after Cecioni's return in 1867 from his stay in Naples (he had lived there since 1863), perhaps as a commemoration for the Caffè, which had closed by 1870. Thus two possible dates for the work appear plausible: between 1861 and 1863, prior to Cecioni's departure for Naples, or after 1867, in which case the artist would have worked from memory for the figures of De Tivoli, who had moved away from Florence in 1864, and of Sernesi, who had died in 1866.

Provenance: Telemaco Signorini (Signorini, 1893). Paolo Signorini (Focardi, 1910). Private collection, Milan (Somarè, 1944). Enrico Somarè, Milan (New York Cat., 1949).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 138. Florence, 1933, room A, no. 4. New York, 1949, p. 64, n. 48, pl. 48. Rome, 1956, no. 292, pl. 103. Munich, 1975-76, no. 1, pl. 1. Florence, 1976, no. 1. Paris, 1978-79, no. 1. Lugano, 1979, no. 1. Pistoia, 1983, p. 58.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**49.** *Via del Maglio a Firenze/Via del Maglio, Florence,* c. 1860
Oil on canvas
29.3 × 36.8 cm./11½ × 14½ in.
Private collection, Turin
(Munich 1975-76, no. 38)

The Via del Maglio (today called Via Lamarmora), a street that runs into Piazza San Marco in Florence near the Academy of Fine Arts, was a familiar place to the Macchiaioli and was often depicted in their works. Fattori went to live in the Via del Maglio in 1860, shortly after he married Settimia Vannucci, and it is likely that D'Ancona (who was a close friend of Fattori's) conceived the idea for this painting during a visit to Fattori's house.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Giacomo Piccardi, Florence. Narciso Gall. Sale, 1965, no. 45.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 38, pl. 38. Tokyo, 1979, no. 37.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**50.** *Portico/Portico*, c. 1861
Oil on drawing board
14.3 × 21.5 cm./5⅝ × 8½ in.
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 36)

This painting by D'Ancona can be dated to 1861 as it shows notable similarities to works of that period by Signorini, Cabianca, Banti and especially Sernesi. *Portico* represents D'Ancona's closest encounter with the visual syntax of the early *macchia* style, and also stands as one of the most reliable points of reference for the formation of the new pictorial language.

There is a particularly close affinity between this work and the use of light in Sernesi's *Roofs in the Sunlight* (cat. no. 56). However, there are differences in tone and chromatic quality, which are warm and full-bodied in D'Ancona's painting, and cool and subtle in Sernesi's. Still, the clear affinity between the two works indicates that the two painters were in contact during this period. It should be pointed out here that Nancy Gray Troyer doubts the attribution to D'Ancona, reasoning that such a pure *macchia* work would be unusual in his *oeuvre*, and instead suggests that it be attributed to Abbati (Troyer, 1978, p. 46).

Provenance: Ambron Coll., Florence. Aldo Gonnelli, Florence. (Rome Cat., 1956). City of Florence (since 1915; gift of Aldo Gonnelli). Dep. of the State Collections (inv. no. 215). Gallery of Modern Art, Florence (from 1924; Gen. Cat no. 234; G.M.A. 1934 Itin., room XXI, repr. p. 49; G.M.A. 1949 Itin., room XXI, p. 19, repr. p. 52.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1930, room XXI, no. 18 Rome, 1956, no. 29, pl. 9. The Hague, 1972-73, no. 17, pl. 11. Munich, 1975-76, no. 36, pl. 36. Florence, 1976, no. 38. Paris, 1978-79, no. 14. Lugano, 1979, no. 15. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 8.

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**Vito D'Ancona**
**51.** *Signora in giardino/Lady in a Garden*, c. 1861-62 (Plate 1)
Oil on canvas
37.9 × 25.3 cm./14⅞ × 10 in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 37)

*Lady in a Garden* is one of the few works by D'Ancona painted in a pure Macchiaioli style. This work, completed between 1861 and 1862, is among the first examples of a kind of painting that employs a quick rendering of costume and social gesture which would be influential for Signorini, Borrani, Boldini and Fattori himself (who was a particularly close friend of D'Ancona's).

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 172, pl. XLVII. Piero Dello Strologo, Milan (Alazard, 1950). Piero Dini, Montecatini (Munich Cat., 1975-76).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1930, room XX, no. 2. Lugano, 1948, no. 29. New York, 1949, 1949, no. 51. Rome, 1956, pl. 8. Munich, 1975-76, no. 37, pl. 37. Florence, 1976, no. 37. Paris, 1978-79, no. 13. Lugano, 1979, no. 13. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 9.

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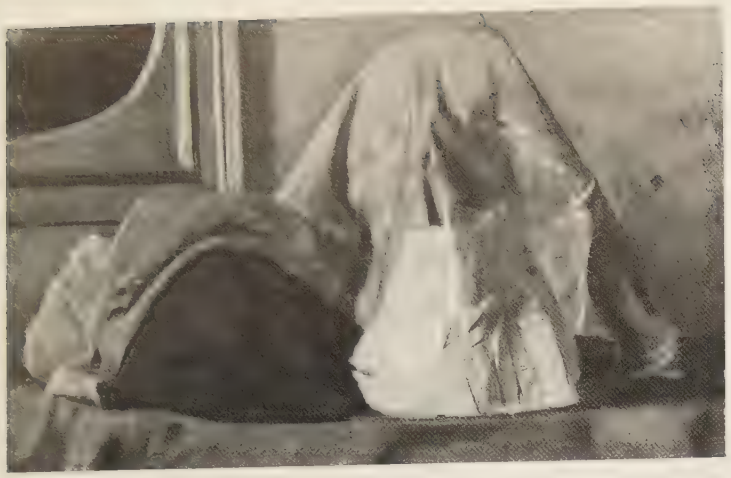
**Giovanni Fattori**
**52.** *Soldati francesi del '59/French Soldiers of '59*, c. 1859
Oil on panel
15.5 × 32 cm./6⅛ × 12⅝ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 18)

A number of the other *macchia* studies done by Fattori in this period have survived, as have the numerous notes made in his notebook, but no other work provides us with a more powerful image of the painter's naive and emotional involvement in the historical events around him. It clearly demonstrates the personal contribution made by Fattori -- through the immediacy of his participation in those events — to the new pictorial syntax of the language of the Macchiaioli.

Fattori was fascinated by the colorful uniforms of the French troops who arrived with the expeditionary force sent to Tuscany by Napoleon III. Two important battles that year, at Magenta and Solferino, were won by the French against the Austrians who had occupied most of Italy since 1814.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Ottavio Parenti, Florence. (Rome Cat., 1921). Paolo Stramezzi, Crema (Lugano Cat., 1948). Stramezzi Coll., 1949, pl. IV.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 5, no. 46. Lugano, 1948, no. 55, pl. 11. New York, 1949, no. 68, pl. 68. Leghorn, 1962, no. 31. Munich, 1975-76, no. 22, pl. 22. Florence, 1976, no. 18. Paris, 1978-79, no. 10. Lugano, 1975, no. 10. Leghorn, 1980, no. 275. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 4.



**Raffaello Sernesi**
**53.** *Studio di costumi/Costume Study,* c. 1860-61
Oil on panel
14.2 × 21.6 cm./5⅝ × 8½ in.
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 41)

This painting is one of the best examples of the kind of "elective affinity" that seemed to draw the youthful Sernesi toward the older, more refined and sensual D'Ancona. Their relationship accounts in large measure for Sernesi's precocious mastery of pictorial technique, something which distinguishes him from the less mature Signorini. As one of the few still lifes in the abbreviated style of the Macchiaioli (and the only still life in this exhibition), this small work demonstrates the inventiveness with which Sernesi treated this long-established genre of painting. For instance, what is particularly noticeable is the manner in which he crops the painting hanging on the wall at the left.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale, Florence, 1926, no. 58. Emilio Cecchi, Rome. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1927; purchased from Emilio Cecchi, inv. no. 2797. N.G.M.A. 1951 Itin., pp. 15 and 62. N.G.M.A. 1973 Itin., p. 27).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 59, pl. 25. Munich, 1975-76, no. 42, pl. 42. Florence, 1976, no. 41. Paris, 1978-79, no. 17. Lugano, 1979, no. 14.

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**54.** *Il cupolino alle Cascine/Gazebo at the Cascine,* c. 1860-61
Oil on drawing board
12.3 × 19 cm./4⅞ × 7½ in.
On the *verso*: *R. Sernesi/Le Cascine (Firenze) dalla Signora Bianchi Biffoli nipote dell'artista passò nella racc. d'arte di Mario Galli/[The Cascine (Florence) from Signora Bianchi Biffoli, the artist's niece, passed into the collection of Mario Galli].*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 38)

The *Gazebo at the Cascine* was painted by Sernesi in 1860-61, according to Signorini. Among Sernesi's works of this period, this painting is most closely related to the *macchia* studies done by Signorini at La Spezia during the preceding year.

Provenance: Bianchi Biffoli Coll., Florence. Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale, 1926, no. 62, pl. II. Emilio Cecchi, Florence.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 65, p. 56, pl. 29. Munich, 1975-76, no. 40, pl. 40. Florence, 1976, no. 38. Paris, 1978-79, no. 15. Lugano, 1979, no. 17.

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**55.** *Pastura in montagna/Pasture in the Mountains,* 1861-62
Oil on canvas
26.2 × 82.5 cm./10⅜ × 32½ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 56)

In the summer of 1861, Borrani and Sernesi made a painting trip together through the Apennines near Pistoia to the town of San Marcello. Among the various works by the two artists which can be attributed to this period, the most notable is the *Pasture in the Mountains*. Some scholars have attributed this painting to Borrani, but there is little evidence to support this claim.

The *Pasture in the Mountains* has generally been dated prior to Sernesi's adoption of the *macchia* technique. Yet Signorini states that Sernesi produced some works between 1860 and 1861 which had "a most distinct use of tone and a special quality all their own." He adds that "later on, based on certain studies that he had done at San Marcello, Sernesi painted a *Pasture in the Mountains,* a work of surprising calm and possessed of an intensely luminous tone."

The painting was exhibited at the Promotrice in the spring of 1862. Sernesi was a younger and less experienced painter than Borrani, and took longer to produce a work from the studies they had done together at San Marcello. Yet he knew how to preserve on canvas the freshness of painting from nature better than his friend, despite the considerable size, for Sernesi, of this particular canvas.

Provenance: Encrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 40, pl. CXXXIII. Arturo Toscanini, Milan (Cazzullo, 1947). Walter Toscanini, Milan (Cecchi, 1963). Gaetano Sperati, Milan. Mario Borgiotti, Milan.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1862, no. 68. Florence, 1865, no. 27. Lugano, 1948, no. 32. New York, 1949, p. 70, no. 56. Rome, 1956, no. 56. Munich, 1975-76, no. 55, pl. 55. Florence, 1976, no. 56. Paris, 1978-79, no. 25. Lugano, 1979, no. 25. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 13. Pistoia, 1983, p. 74.

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**56.** *Tetti al sole/Roofs in the Sunlight,* c. 1861 (Plate II)
Oil on drawing board
12.3 × 19 cm./4⅞ × 7½ in.
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 40)

This is one of the most important of all the Macchiaioli paintings. As early as 1927 Cecchi correctly pointed out its "monumental solemnity," "clarity of purpose," "full formal control," "transcendence of any realistic and sentimental appeal," and "refusal to defer to the demand for illustration and for the quaint." Its most probable date is 1861. The painting closely resembles D'Ancona's *Portico* (cat. no. 50).

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Somarè, Galli Sale, 1928). Gaetano Biasutti, Florence (Somarè, 1928). Emilio Cecchi, Rome. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1927; purchased from Emilio Cecchi, inv. no. 2796, N.G.M.A. 1951 Itin., pp. 15-62, repr. p. 83; N.G.M.A. 1973 Itin., p. 27, repr. p. 187).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 61, pp. 15 and 55. Munich, 1975-76, no. 41, pl. 41. Florence, 1976, no. 40. Paris, 1978-79, no. 16. Lugano, 1979, no. 16.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**57.** *Giovani pescatori/Boys Fishing,* 1860
Oil on canvas
28 × 42 cm./11 × 16½ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Tokyo 1979, no. 101)

This is one of a group of pictures painted by Signorini based on studies he did with Banti and Cabianca at La Spezia during the summer of 1860.

Provenance: Sotheby's Sale, London, Nov. 1971. Manzoni Gall. Sale, 1972, no. 47, pl. 47. Spinetti Gall. Sale., 1972, no. 30. Bolaffi, 1972, p. 393. Il Prisma Gall. Sale, 1985, p. 146.

Exhibitions: Tokyo, 1979, no. 101.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**58.** *Bimbi al sole/Children in the Sun,* c. 1862
Oil on canvas
13 × 26 cm./5⅛ × 10¼ in.
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 30)

This painting and one with the same title by Cristiano Banti from 1879 (Milan, *Banti,* 1982, no. 9) are typical of the Macchiaioli's early studies from life. Cecioni describes the events of that early period: "We would go and work outside in the sun. One here, one there, all around the Montelupo countryside, calling to each other every once in a while to share our enthusiasm for something we had seen. At times we would gather to observe a cart going by on the dusty white road, calling each other's attention to some detail. 'Look, Banti, at the beauty of that white in the background' or 'Look, Signorini, at the contrast of the dark wheels on the white road. . .' or 'Look at the force of those wheels slamming along!' or 'Pointeau, Borrani, come and look too!' " (A. Cecioni, 1905, p. 316).

The theme of children in the sun is not the only one that confirms the Macchiaioli's practice of working together. There are the groups of women from Lerici by Signorini and Cabianca, the studies done by Cabianca and Banti at Montemurlo and at Piantavigne in 1860 and 1862, Sernesi's and Borrani's work done in the Apennines near Pistoia in 1861, Signorini's and Lega's early work in the Piagentina, the paintings done by Abbati, Sernesi and Borrani at Castiglioncello between 1864 and 1865, and the studies done by Fattori and Abbati at Castiglioncello in 1867.

Provenance: City of Florence. State Collections (from 1912; inv. no. 118). National Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. Cat. no. 298. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., 25).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 27, pl. 27. Florence, 1976, no. 30. Milan, June 17, 1982, p. 131, no. 2.

In the years between 1861 and 1867, Fattori spent long periods of time in the city where he was born, Leghorn. Leghorn became Fattori's principal place of residence during these years primarily because his wife's tuberculosis could be treated best in a seaside climate.

In Leghorn, with family and relatives near him, Fattori began to paint a series of portraits. The paintings of his cousin Argia, his wife, Signora Mecatti, and Signorina Siccoli were all executed during this period. At the same time, under the influence of the painter Nino Costa, he began to paint scenes of rural life. However, these paintings had a more delicate, lyrical touch which did not rely on the kind of intellectual search for the "primitive" employed by Costa. *Peasant Woman in the Woods* and *Pastures in the Maremma* are representative of these rural subjects. He also continued his work with rapid, direct impressions drawn from life, similar to his earlier military paintings. All of these works, produced at a peak in Fattori's creative energies, have affinities with the work that Abbati, Borrani and Sernesi were doing at almost the same time in the Maremma. After 1867 Fattori became an integral part of the group of artists who visited Diego Martelli's estate in Castiglioncello.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**59.** *Contadina nel bosco/Peasant Woman in the Woods,* 1861 (Plate VII)
Oil on canvas
78 × 57 cm./30¾ × 22⅜ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 61)

During his stay in Leghorn, Fattori became interested in both portraiture and rural landscapes with female figures. This latter interest of Fattori's is most clearly seen in three paintings: *Acquaiole livornesi (Water-Carriers of Leghorn)* (Florence, 1976, no. 64), *Le Macchiaiole (The Brush Gatherers)* (Florence 1976, no. 66), and *Costumi livornesi (Customs of Leghorn)* (Florence 1976, no. 67), all painted in the period around 1865.

The painting shown here, however, illustrates that the theme of the young peasant woman, so clearly present in the contemplative and austere *The Brush Gatherers,* can be traced back to 1861. This canvas can be dated on the basis of Fattori's inscription on a photograph of a painting which appears identical to the one exhibited here. This date is rather surprising, for, at first glance, the painting would seem to date some two or three years later. Yet the date seems correct in light of the painting's affinity (in chromatic and technical terms) with *The Italian Camp During the Battle of Magenta* (cat. no. 19), and if it is remembered that the theme of the goats — so clearly derived from Costa's *Women Loading Wood at Port d'Anzio* (cat. no. 33) — appears in other 1861 works by Fattori and also on numerous pages of a his notebook, which is dated 1861.

Provenance: Private Coll., Lucca. Piero Dini, Milan.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 61. Tokyo, 1979, no. 49. Leghorn, 1983, no. 186.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**60.** *La cugina Argia/Cousin Argia,* 1861
Oil on cardboard
36.2 × 29 cm./14¼ × 11⅜ in.
On the *verso* there is an inscription by the artist: *Giovanni Fattori alla sua cugina Argia — 1861 [Giovanni Fattori to his cousin Argia — 1861]*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 57)

Around 1861 Fattori, who was spending time in his native Leghorn (it was probably during this year that he moved there for his wife's health), began to paint portraits. There is considerable uncertainty as to whether the dedication inscribed on the back of this picture is an autograph. In fact, there is no documentation in existence to confirm that Fattori had a cousin by the name of Argia. In an attempt to solve the question of the sitter's relationship to the artist Cecchi postulated that Fattori did the painting in Pistoia where he had relatives on his mother's side.

Regardless of the sitter's identity, this small portrait remains one of Fattori's best known and most popular works, and reveals the painter's close working relationship with Costa in its clarity of intonation, vague echoes of Corot, and delicacy of execution. But the content and color are already clearly Fattori's own, both in the characterization of the sitter — a mixture of pride and sweetness — and in the exuberant liveliness of the image, which is totally in keeping with the vitality of the early *macchie.*

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Florence Cat., 1925). Riccardo Gualino, Turin (Turin Cat., 1926; Gualino Coll., 1928, pl. 109). *Ritratti* Sale, 1933, no. 15, repr. Zaccaria Pisa, Milan: Pisa Sale, 1934, no. 47, pl. 91. Leone Ambron, Florence (Rome Cat., 1938). Gallery of Modern Art, Florence (since 1947; gift of Leone Ambron to the City of Florence; inv. no. 1135; G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., pp. 13, 21, repr. p. 46).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925, room H, no. 65. Turin, 1926, no. 83. Venice, 1934, room X, no. 22. Paris, 1935, no. 85. Rome, 1938, no. 23, repr. Rome, 1952, p. 30, pl. IX. Leghorn, 1953, no. 7, pl. 7. Florence, 1953, no. 7, repr. Rome, 1956, n. 82, pl. II. Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 28, pl. 9. Florence, 1969. Munich, 1975-76, no. 58, pl. 58. Florence, 1976, no. 57. Paris, 1978-79, no. 12. Lugano, 1979, no. 12. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 15.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**61.** *Pasture in Maremma/Pastures in the Maremma*, 1863-64
Oil on canvas
32.2 × 77.5 cm./12⅝ × 30½ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 63)

The *Pastures in the Maremma* is one of the earliest examples of a theme that Fattori took up often and in many ways. Like Cabianca in his *Canal in the Tuscan Maremma* (cat. no. 89), Fattori depicts the panoramic sweep of the Maremma. He suggests the improvements in methods of cultivation of the area by showing the animals grazing, testifying to crop rotation. However, a feeling of isolation pervades the landscape and conveys the constricted life of the peasants.

A preliminary study done from nature, which was used by the artist for this painting (Malesci 1961, no. 357), shows even better than the finished work the intimate knowledge Fattori had of both Costa's technique of landscape painting and the shorthand he had developed for representing light. The same study also shows how Fattori arrived at an original vision, much richer and more lively than Costa's.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Leghorn Cat., 1953). Gustavo Sforni, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913). Mary Terni, Florence.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 43. Leghorn, 1953, n. 15, pl. 15. Florence, no. 15. Florence, 1976, no. 63. Tokyo, 1979, no. 50. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 17. Pistoia, 1983, 36.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**62.** *Pineta con torre/Pine Grove with Tower*, c. 1864-66
Oil on panel
10.5 × 22.5 cm./4⅛ × 8⅞ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 74)

Critics have always thought that this painting of pine trees was done at Castiglioncello, but because of its compositional simplicity, similar to that of *Pine Grove in the Maremma* (cat. no. 64), it should instead be assigned to Fattori's Leghorn period.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Florence Cat., 1925). Galli Sale, 1928, no. 22, repr. Gabriolo, Milan.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no 42. Rome, 1925, room H, no. 14. Munich, 1975-76, no. 66a, pl. 66a. Florence, 1976, no. 74.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**63.** *Ritratto della prima moglie/Portrait of the Artist's First Wife*, 1865
Oil on canvas
85 × 70 cm./33½ × 27½ in.
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 59)

Settimia Vannucci, Fattori's first wife, is portrayed in this painting; the painter married her in 1860, and she died of consumption in 1867. Fattori discusses her at great length in his *Autobiographical Memoirs*, in which he tells the story of their relationship before their marriage, their honeymoon trip (which came about as the result of the money Fattori won in the Ricasoli competition), the tragic story of his wife's illness which caused him serious emotional and financial difficulties for a time, and finally Settimia's death. This painting, dated by scholars between 1863 and 1865, appears to be closer to 1865 because of its affinity with other portraits by Fattori, especially with the *Portrait of Signora Mecatti* (1865) (Florence 1976, no. 60).

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence. Malesci Sale, 1914, pl. V. Mario Galli, Florence. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since February 1922; purchased from Mario Galli; inv. no. 2462. N.G.M.A, 1932 Cat., p. 23. N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 14, repr. p. 79. N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 24, repr. p. 184).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 3. Florence, 1925, room I, n. 21, repr. Venice, 1934, room X, no. 20. Paris, 1935, no. 88. Berlin, 1937, room 2, no. 41. Rome, 1938, no. 21, repr. Leghorn, 1953, no. 9, pl. 9. Florence, 1953, no. 9, repr. Rome, 1956, no. 83, pl. 33. Munich, 1975-76, no. 57, pl. 57. Florence, 1976, no. 59. Paris, 1978-79, no. 26. Lugano, 1979, no. 26.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**64.** *Pineta maremmana/Pine Grove in the Maremma*, c. 1865-66
Oil on canvas
12 × 22 cm./4¾ × 8⅝ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 73)

Although this *Pine Grove* is usually referred to as "in the Maremma," its compositional simplicity and concise style, similar to those of the *Rustic Courtyard* (cat. no. 66) and other pictures from the same time, tend to place it in Fattori's Leghorn period, around 1865-66. This is one of the first examples of those extremely rapid impressions of landscape which later, especially after his Castiglioncello period, constitute one of the most authentic, poetic aspects of his art.

Provenance: Alessandro Magnelli, Florence. Magnelli Sale, 1929, no. 35, pl. XI. Raffaele Bastianelli, Rome. Lucilla Bastianelli, Rome. Piero Dini, Milan. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 22, repr.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 66, pl. 66. Florence, 1976, no. 73. Tokyo, 1979, no. 54.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**65.** *Campagna livornese e tamerici/Leghorn Countryside and Tamarisks*, c. 1865
Oil on drawing board
17 × 33 cm./ 6½ × 12⅞ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Tokyo 1979, no. 57)

The soft foliage of the tamarisk (a Mediterranean tree or shrub with feathery leaves that was a familiar sight in the countryside and often painted by the Macchiaioli) is rendered in this painting with the delicate brushstrokes which characterize many of Fattori's landscapes of this period.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale 1928, pl. 15.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925. Montecatini, 1963. New York, 1964. Tokyo, 1979, no. 57.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**66.** *Cortile rustico/Country Courtyard*, c. 1865
Oil on canvas
28 × 27 cm./11 × 10⅝ in.
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 72)

While other works by Fattori often reveal a delicate series of impressions, this painting shows the painter's ability to "construct" an image out of interlocking planes and reduce shapes to a few basic forms. This style became a prominent feature of Fattori's later etchings.

Fernanda Ojetti, the wife of writer Ugo Ojetti, recalled that this canvas and four other small studies which were in the Galli Sale in 1928 were cut from a larger canvas.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Leghorn. Ugo Ojetti, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 64, pl. 64. Florence, 1976, no. 72. Tokyo, 1979, no. 53.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**67.** *Paese con cielo bianco/Town with White Sky*, c. 1865
Oil on panel
10 × 20 cm./4 × 7⅞ in.
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 75)

*Town with White Sky* relates stylistically to other small landscapes of Fattori's years at Leghorn.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale, 1928, no. 6, pl. 6. Geri Gall. Sale, 1972. Mario Borgiotti, Milan. *Settembre fiorentino* Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1972, no. 32.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 67, pl. 67. Florence, 1976, no. 75. Tokyo, 1979, no. 56.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**68.** *Pagliai/Haystacks*, c. 1865
Oil on canvas
17 × 13 cm./6¾ × 5⅛ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Florence
(Ghiglia, 1913, no. 6)

The haystack, which was a common sight in the nineteenth-century Italian landscape, provided artists with an excellent object for the study of light effects and color. This delicate yet brilliantly colored study is one of the idyllic impressions painted by Fattori during his most prolific period at Leghorn.

Provenance: Gustavo Sforni, Florence.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**69.** *Ritratto della signorina Siccoli/Portrait of Signorina Siccoli*, 1866
Oil on canvas
57 × 43 cm./22½ × 16⅞ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori 1866*
Private collection
(Munich 1975-76, no. 59)

This portrait is one of the finest by Fattori. In fact, Ojetti went so far as to compare it to the work of Goya and Manet, for "the delicacy of the veils and batiste cloth on the arms and chest of the young girl." Ojetti went on to say that "the light is calm, the composition modest, the girl's expression is peaceful: these are the solid and frugal, quiet and unpretentious women of the Tuscan petty bourgeoisie of the time."

The girl in this portrait was a Siccoli only by marriage; her maiden name was (Augusta) Cecchi. At the age of sixteen she married a lawyer by the name of Siccoli, who was the brother of a well-known officer in Garibaldi's army.

Provenance: A. Siccoli, Florence.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 582. Venice, 1928, rooms 7-14, no. 100. Venice, 1934, room X, no. 23. Lugano, 1948, no. 59. Leghorn, 1953, no. 23, pl. 23. Florence, 1953, no. 23. Milan, 1953, room 10, no. 196, pl. 45. Munich, 1975-76, no. 59, pl. 59.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**70.** *Mare azzurro/The Blue Sea*, c. 1866
Oil on canvas
7 × 37 cm./2¾ × 14½ in
Initialed on the lower right-hand side: *G.F.*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 71)

This small painting shows a stretch of the seacoast near Leghorn which, like the *Punta del Romito (The Romito Point)* (Florence 1976, no. 62) Fattori depicted from the vantage point of the Palmieri pavilion, but in this case looking northward. Indeed, *La Rotonda di Palmieri (The Palmieri Pavilion)* (Florence 1976, no. 68), *The Romito Point*, and this picture constitute a group of such visual cohesiveness as to suggest that the three works were painted at the same time.

Provenance: Vincenzo Giustiniani, Lucca. Giustiniani Sale, 1929, no. 95, pl. LXXIII. Foà-Curti Coll., Milan. Finarte Sale, Milan, 1975. Giuliano Matteucci, Viareggio.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 6, no. 12. Munich, 1975-76, no. 72, pl. 72. Florence, 1976, no. 71. Tokyo, 1979, no. 52.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**71.** *L'Erbaiola (L'Etrusca)/The Grass Gatherer (The Etruscan Woman)*, c. 1867
Oil on panel
37.2 × 11.2 cm./14⅝ × 4½ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*; on the *verso*, in pen, *L'Etrusca [The Etruscan Woman]*, and further down, *La Madonna delle Messi [The Madonna of the Harvests]. Mario Galli*
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 11)

This painting belongs to a series of studies of rural life done by Fattori beginning in 1861 in the countryside near Leghorn. The figure seen here shows a certain affinity with the one on the right-hand side of the large painting of *Le Macchiaiole (The Brush Gatherers)* (Florence 1976, no. 66), exhibited at the 1866 Promotrice and then again at the 1867 Promotrice, as well as with *Costumi Livornesi (Customs of Leghorn)* (Florence 1976, no. 67), which is usually dated 1865, but more likely was done by Fattori near the end of his years in Leghorn, in 1867.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence, Soria Sale 1931, no. 117, pl. 34.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 11.

# THE MACCHIAIOLI AT CASTIGLIONCELLO

Following the death of his father in 1861, Diego Martelli found himself the sole heir to a vast estate stretching along the coast south of Leghorn in the area between Chioma and Castiglioncello. Just twenty-three years old and still a student in natural science at the University of Pisa, Martelli had already demonstrated his talent as a writer and as an art critic. After 1856 he was a regular at the Caffè Michelangiolo and became the friend of numerous artists there. His home at Castiglioncello quickly became a favorite gathering place for many of his artist friends. The splendor of the natural surroundings made that stretch of coastline at the edge of the Maremma an ideal place for artists who wished to alternate between the lively company of friends on the one hand, and the chance to contemplate and study nature on the other.

For many of the painters who went there, such as Signorini, Cabianca, Costa, Boldini, and Zandomeneghi, Castiglioncello was a significant but fleeting experience. For Abbati, however, and later for Borrani, Sernesi and Fattori, the regular visits to the Maremma became fundamental regenerative interludes. Because their artistic production from Castiglioncello was commonly linked to the natural and spiritual environment where it was born, their collective work quickly assumed some of the qualities of a "school" of painting, although this was never a stated intention.

There remain very few documents which provide material for a detailed reconstruction of the various phases and moments in the history of the so-called Castiglioncello school. There was, however, an initial period begun by Abbati that included the visits of Borrani and Sernesi.

Another group of artists began to work in Castiglioncello by the summer of 1867: among them were Borrani, Boldini, and Fattori. Enriched by his recent experiences in Leghorn, Fattori exercised a strong influence on several of the other artists, especially Abbati. The landscape and village life in the Maremma provided subject matter for the Macchiaioli that expressed their faith in the values of Italian culture and rural society.

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**Giuseppe Abbati**
**72.** *Lido con bovi al pascolo/Seashore with Grazing Oxen,* c. 1862
Oil on panel
27.4 × 48.8 cm./10¾ × 19¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *G. Abbati*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 82)

This work can be traced back to one of Abbati's first stays at Castiglioncello, perhaps in 1862. The landscape seen here, which was executed on the same site where the painter did his famous *Marina a Castiglioncello (Beach at Castiglioncello)* (Florence, 1976, no. 81), shows a greater awareness of atmospheric effects and a freer technique than does its more famous counterpart. *Seashore with Grazing Oxen,* however, does not possess the intensity of color found in Abbati's later paintings, done while in the company of Sernesi and Borrani during 1864.

Provenance: Gustavo Uzielli (Rome Cat., 1956). Ermanno Luti, Florence *(ivi).* Mario Borgiotti, Milan *(ivi);* Gall. S. Ambrogio Sale, 1968, no. 25. Emilio Gagliardini, Milan (Karlsruhe Cat., 1962). *Settembre fiorentino* Sale, 1966, no. 2. Stair Sainty Matthiesen Sale, New York, 1984, no. 8.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 268. Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 45. Florence, 1976, no. 82. Paris, 1978-79, no. 43. Lugano, 1979, no. 43.

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**Giuseppe Abbati**
**73.** *Bove sulla spiaggia/Ox on the Beach,* c. 1864
Oil on paper
28.5 × 40 cm./11¼ × 15¾ in.
Written in pencil on the *verso*: *Abbati*
Written in ink on the *verso*: *1864 Florence*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Paris 1978-79, no. 53)

Even though this work is usually dated from 1862, the writing on the *verso (1864 Florence)* — not in Abbati's own hand, but from the period — suggests the date of 1864. The dating of this picture is further complicated because, according to Martelli, Abbati concentrated on painting white oxen during the summer of 1867.

Provenance: Angiolo Cheloni. Mario Galli, Florence. Sambalino Sale, 1917, no. 149, pl. 13. N.G.M.A., Rome, purchased from Sambalino, June 1, 1917, inv. no. 2266.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1952, no. 1. Rome, 1956, no. 267, pl. 91. Geneva, 1957, no. 52. Paris, 1978-79, no. 53. Lugano, 1979, no. 44.

**Giuseppe Abbati**
**74.** *Bimbi a Castiglioncello/Children at Castiglioncello,* c. 1864-65
Oil on panel
11.5 × 37.5 cm./4½ × 14¾ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 91)

According to the art critic Baldaccini, this panel is one of Abbati's last works (Baldaccini, 1946, p. 50). However, its style suggests that the painting belongs instead to the period of Abbati's closest ties to the work of Borrani, between 1864 and 1865.

In his last period, Abbati seemed to return to the dense, thick impasto technique of his first Florentine works. This *Children at Castiglioncello,* on the other hand, is closer to *Pointeau che dipinge (Pointeau Painting)* (Munich 1975-76, no. 88) and *Campagna di Castiglioncello (Countryside at Castiglioncello)* (Florence 1976, no. 97) and other similar studies done with a very thin coat of color, through which the natural texture of the panel still remains visible. This procedure was typical of Borrani's work, and was also used by Fattori, Cecioni, and others. More than any other work by Abbati, this painting, by its descriptive detail and use of color, shows the influence of Borrani.

Provenance: Cristiano Banti, Florence (Rome Cat., 1956). Innocenti, Florence *(ivi).* Mario Borgiotti, Florence (Florence Cat., 1946). Macch. Sale, Carini Gall., 1951, no. 34. Spinetti Gall. Sale, 1955, no. 34. Daniela Poli, Milan (Borgiotti, 1964). S. Ambrogio Gall. Sale, 1968, no. 26.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1946. Rome, 1952, pl. 5. Rome, 1956, no. 284. Florence, 1976, no. 91. Paris, 1978-79, no. 54. Lugano, 1979, no. 56. Milan, June 17, 1982, p. 137, no. 1.

**Giuseppe Abbati**
**75.** *Collina Maremmana/Hill in the Maremma,* c. 1864-65
Oil on canvas
13 × 27 cm./5⅛ × 10⅝ in.
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 96)

This small view was originally framed with two other pictures: the *Veduta di Castiglioncello (View of Castiglioncello)* (Florence 1976, no. 102) and a small *Campagna di Castiglioncello (Countryside at Castiglioncello)* (Florence 1976, no. 97) on wood panel. These are three exceptionally important pictures in Abbati's *oeuvre,* but from two different periods. The large *View of Castiglioncello* was, in fact, certainly painted by Abbati during the last year of his life, 1867; the paint is applied in a thick, even layer. The two smaller pictures, instead, are characterized by a very thin layer of paint that is typical of the works of Borrani and Fattori, as well as of Abbati, from around 1865.

Provenance: Diego Martelli, Florence. City of Florence (from 1896; bequest of Diego Martelli). State Collections (from 1912, inv. no. 97). Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen Cat. no. 170).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1930, room XXI, no. 4 [?]. Munich, 1975-76, no. 86, pl. 86. Florence, 1976, no. 96. Paris, 1978-79, no. 53. Lugano, 1979, no. 55.

**Giuseppe Abbati**
**76.** *Dalla cantina di Diego Martelli/View from Diego Martelli's Wine Cellar,* c. 1865-66
Oil on panel
38 × 29 cm./15 × 11⅜ in.
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 100)

A note written on the *verso* of this painting by the sculptor Augusto Rivalta indicates that it was painted by Abbati in Castelnuovo della Misericordia. It doubtless depicts a corner of the Martelli farmhouse, which was located at the center of his property in this area.

This small painting is technically very similar to another one which depicts the barrels in Martelli's wine cellar. The style of the work suggests that it dates from 1866.

Provenance: Edoardo Bruno, Florence (Munich, 1975-76).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 98, pl. 98. Florence, 1976, no. 100. Paris, 1978-79, no. 59. Lugano, 1979, no. 59. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 24.

**Giuseppe Abbati**
**77.** *Carro e bovi nella Maremma toscana/Cart and Oxen in the Tuscan Maremma*, c. 1867 (Plate VI)
Oil on canvas
56 × 135 cm./22 × 53⅛ in.
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 103)

In 1867, the last year of his life, Abbati lived in Castelnuovo della Misericordia. During that summer, as evidenced by the following quote from Martelli in his profile of Abbati, he visited Fattori at Castiglioncello. Although Martelli does not describe this painting, his observations suggest that it dates from that summer and that Abbati's choice of subject was influenced by Fattori: "... in the summer of 1867 he came to stay in my house at Castiglioncello. Fattori had already arrived there, and strongly encouraged Abbati to study his favorite white colors in living nature, and especially in oxen. Abbati was always slow and hesitant to begin a new line of experimentation; if he had not been excited by Fattori's suggestions, perhaps he would not have gotten involved. Nevertheless, he took up his brushes and produced a painting of a cart and peasant, which he then sent to the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti in Florence, along with other very important works of his (including the painting entitled *Resting After a Meal*)." (Martelli, 1952, p. 222).

Provenance: Aldo Gonnelli, Florence (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall.). Luigi Freddi, Milan *(ivi)*. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1964, no. 8.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 97, pl. 97. Florence, 1976, no. 103. Paris, 1978-79, no. 62. Lugano, 1979, no. 65.

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**Giovanni Boldini**
**78.** *Cristiano Banti/Cristiano Banti*, 1865-66
Oil on canvas
57 × 33.5 cm./22½ × 13¼ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *G. Boldini*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 123)

This portrait of Banti, together with one of Abbati, was shown in the 1866 Promotrice, and like many of Boldini's portraits the two pictures were not for sale, but were distributed among his friends. Boldini and Banti probably met soon after Boldini's arrival in Florence, at which point Banti was already involved in *plein air* and *macchia* studies. The number, variety, and quality of the paintings by Boldini that were owned by Banti testify to the intimate friendship between these two painters, particularly during the years of Boldini's artistic formation. Most of these paintings, because of the steps taken by one of Banti's heirs, are now preserved in the Gallery of Modern Art in Florence.

Provenance: Cristiano Banti, Florence. Adriana Banti-Ghiglia, Florence. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1959; bequest of Adriana Banti-Ghiglia; inv. no. 1641).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 121, pl. 121. Florence, 1976, no. 123. Milan, *Banti*, 1982, p. 137, no. 3.

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**Giovanni Boldini**
**79.** *Il pittore Beppe Abbati/The Painter Beppe Abbati*, 1865-66 (Plate V)
Oil on panel
37.5 × 22 cm./14¾ × 8⅝ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *G. Boldini*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 122)

These small, quickly executed full-length portraits (see cat. nos. 78 and 80), which represent Boldini's early attempts to integrate *macchia* techniques into his own painting style, possess a monumental quality that belies their size. Abbati is depicted in Boldini's studio with many small paintings or sketches hanging on the wall behind him. In this formal portrait set against the real "backdrop" of a working studio, Abbati is shown in the pose of a gentleman with his dog at his side. Ironically, he would die of rabies a few years later after having been bitten by perhaps this same animal. The eye patch is a reminder of the wound Abbati suffered as a volunteer with Garibaldi.

This portrait of Abbati belonged first to Borrani and then to Banti. A letter written by Diego Martelli to his wife on November 23, 1865, reveals that Boldini had finished the portrait that very same month. Martelli writes jokingly that, "...I intend to visit that fathead, Count Boldini, to see his portraits of Poldo Pisani and Beppe. They are supposed to be excellent likenesses."

Provenance: Odoardo Borrani, Florence (Franchi, 1902). Cristiano Banti, Florence (Franchi, 1945). Rinaldo Carnielo, Florence (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973). Vannini-Parenti, Florence. H. Bracaras, Buenos Aires (Maltese, 1960). Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 3. Piero Dini, Milan (Munich Cat., 1975-76).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 518, repr. Munich, 1975-76, no. 122, pl. 122.

**Giovanni Boldini**
**80.** *Ritratto della signora Mary Donegani/Portrait of Signora Mary Donegani,* 1869
Oil on panel
41 × 25 cm./16¼ × 9⅞ in.
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 25)

The Donegani, a well-known wealthy family from Leghorn, were among Boldini's acquaintances in Florence before the artist moved to Paris in 1871. This is a portrait of Mary Donegani, the young bride of Francesco Castelli della Vinca. The painting shows the influence of the fashionable Parisian school, exemplified by Tissot, whose work Boldini was likely to have seen during his 1867 visit to Paris.

Provenance: Donegani heirs, Leghorn.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 26. Pistoia, 1984, no. 13.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**81.** *Case di Pannocchia a Castiglioncello/Houses of the Pannocchia Family at Castiglioncello,* c. 1862
Oil on panel
12 × 36.3 cm./4¾ × 14¼ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Borrani*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Paris 1978-79, no. 52)

This painting shows some houses belonging to the Pannocchia family in the area around Castiglioncello. Estates in the Tuscan farming system, such as the one owned by the Martelli family at Castiglioncello, were operated by a contract between the landlord and the peasant tenant *(mezzadro).* In principle, the landlord furnished the land and the *mezzadro* the labor, while all produce and expenses of cultivation were divided equally. The Pannochia family were, it is assumed, a tenant family on the Castiglioncello estate.

Provenance: Sambalino Sale, 1917, no. 69. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome; purchased from Sambalino, June 1917; inv. no. 2267.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 253. Paris, 1978-79, no. 52. Lugano, 1979, no. 52.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**82.** *Signora con ombrellino/Lady with Parasol,* c. 1862
Oil on panel
20 × 14 cm./7⅞ × 5½ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 110)

This painting is one of Borrani's most elegant works. Here he displays an interest in the kind of portraiture, based on improvisation and executed in miniature, which was practiced especially by Fattori and Boldini.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale, 1927, no. 92. Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checchucci Sale, 1928, no. 254, pl. XXIV. Piero dello Strologo, Milan (Bucarelli, 1956).
Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 259, pl. 89. Munich, 1975-76, n. 96, pl. 96. Florence, 1976, no. 110. Paris, 1978-79, no. 60. Lugano, 1979, no. 58. Florence, 1981, no. 13. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 30.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**83.** *Campagna a Castiglioncello con giovane contadino/Countryside at Castiglioncello with Young Peasant,* c. 1864
Oil on panel
5.5 × 28 cm./2⅛ × 11 in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 92)

Here we see the inland area near Castiglioncello, looking from the outermost wall of the Martelli villa towards the so-called "Spianate" (esplanade).

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Laureato di Gesù, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 8, repr.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 92. Paris, 1978-79, no. 49. Lugano, 1979, no. 50. Florence, 1981, no. 10.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**84.** *Casa e marina a Castiglioncello/House and Seacoast at Castiglioncello,* c. 1864 (Plate IX)
Oil on canvas
16.5 × 51 cm./6½ × 20⅛ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 89)

This painting depicts a view of the Castiglioncello point from the wall surrounding the Martelli compound. The group of tamarisks in the center of the painting appears in numerous other paintings by the Macchiaioli. The building on the right is the post office, which was erected in the first decades of the nineteenth century and still exists today.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gallery, 1973). Laureato di Gesù, Milan (Somarè, 1928). Piero Dini, Milan. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall, 1973, no. 6, repr.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1926, no. 97. New York, 1949, no. 58, pl. 58. Rome, 1956, no. 255. Munich 1975-76, no. 81, pl. 81. Florence, 1976, no. 89. Paris, 1978-79, no. 47. Lugano, 1979, no. 47. Florence, 1981, no. 8. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 22. Pistoia, 1983, p. 55

**Odoardo Borrani**
**85.** *Orto a Castiglioncello/Vegetable Garden at Castiglioncello,* c. 1864 (Plate VIII)
Oil on panel
18 × 50 cm./7⅛ × 19⅝ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 88)

This painting belongs to a homogeneous group of five studies that were most likely executed during the summer of 1864. These paintings were all done near the Martelli villa, and represent different views of that area. In this painting the rear facade of the villa is clearly visible, along with one of the walls that branched out horizontally from the villa to separate the vegetable gardens from the compost heap and stables.

Provenance: Private collection, Milan (Cecchi, 1925-26). Laureato di Gesù, Milan (Somarè, 1928). Piero Dini, Milan. *'800* Sale, Manzoni Gallery, 1972, no. 27, pl. 27. *'800* Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1972, no. 6, pl. 6

Exhibitions: Turin, 1926, no. 93. Rome, 1930, p. 71, no. 25. Rome, 1956, no. 254. The Hague, 1972-73, no. 11, pl. 5. Munich, 1975-76, no. 80, pl. 80. Florence, 1976, no. 88. Paris, 1978-79, no. 46. Lugano, 1979, no. 48. Florence, 1981, no. 7. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 21. Pistoia, 1983, p. 28.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**86.** *Pagliai a Castiglioncello/Haystacks at Castiglioncello*, c. 1864
Oil on panel
12 × 36 cm./4¾ × 14⅛ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 90)

This is a view of the sea looking out towards the Castiglioncello promontory as viewed from the area around the stables at the Martelli villa. Borrani also painted the two other works (cat. nos. 83 and 87) from the same spot, looking northward in the *View of the Castiglioncello Point* and westward in the *Countryside at Castiglioncello.*

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973). Laureato di Gesù, Milan (Somarè, 1928). Piero Dini, Milan. (Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 7, repr.).

Exhibitions: Turin, 1926, no. 91. Rome, 1930, p. 69, no. 20. Lugano, 1948, no. 27. New York, 1949, no. 60, pl. 60. Rome, 1952, p. 36, pl. XXIII. Rome, 1956, no. 252. Munich, 1975-76, no. 82, pl. 82. Florence, 1976, no. 90. Paris, 1978-79, no. 48. Lugano, 1979, no. 49. Florence, 1981, no. 9. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 23.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**87.** *Veduta della punta di Castiglioncello con la Torre Medicea/View of the Castiglioncello Point with the Medici Tower*, c. 1866
Oil on panel
5.5 × 30 cm./2⅛ × 11½ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 93)

Historians know of approximately fifteen paintings done by Borrani at Castiglioncello. Despite this relatively small number of surviving works, Borrani's contribution to the Macchiaioli school can be substantiated, nevertheless, when related to the work of Abbati, Sernesi, and even Fattori.

Provenance: Borrani Estate, Florence. Mario Galli, Florence. Laureato di Gesù, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 9, repr.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 93. Paris, 1978-79, no. 50. Lugano, 1979, no. 51. Florence, 1981, no. 11.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**88.** *Carro rosso a Castiglioncello/Red Cart at Castiglioncello*, c. 1867
Oil on canvas
12.6 × 66 cm./5 × 26 in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 106)

This study, which Borrani used for the composition of the picture *Raccolta del grano a Castiglioncello (Grain Harvest at Castiglioncello)* (Rosselli Sale, 1931, no. 119, pl. 54), was probably executed during the summer of 1867 when Borrani, Abbati, and Fattori were involved in making studies of oxen and carts in the open countryside. This picture echoes the image of the Martelli estate against the backdrop of the sea as depicted by Abbati in his *View of Castiglioncello* (Florence 1976, no. 102), and, like that painting, unfolds in a long horizontal band. Indeed, the Macchiaioli were particularly fond of such long, thin paintings, which repeat the slow movement of the spectator's eye along the broad horizon. This picture shares some of Fattori's chromatic intonation, but has clearer, sharper tonalities than those of Fattori's studies of this period. Further study needs to be done on the relationship of these panoramic paintings to landscape photography of the period.

Provenance: Stucchi Coll., Milan (Bucarelli, 1956). Stair Sainty Matthiesen Gall. Sale, New York, 1984, no. 11.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 257. Leghorn, 1962, no. 16. Munich, 1975-76, no. 95, pl. 95. Florence, 1976, no. 106. Paris, 1978-79, Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 25.

**Vincenzo Cabianca**
**89.** *Canale della Maremma toscana/Canal of the Tuscan Maremma,* 1862
Oil on canvas
44 × 125 cm./17⅜ × 49¼ in.
Private collection, Lecco
(Florence 1980, no. 14)

Cabianca did not become a habitual visitor to Castiglioncello until after 1880, when he was in his fifties. Yet he had been one of the first of the Macchiaioli to come to the Maremma, as proven by this picture dated 1862 depicting a stretch of the Tyrrhenian coastline quite near Castiglioncello. Nevertheless, this painting does not particularly reflect the characteristics of the "school" of Castiglioncello as defined in the works of Abbati and Borrani from 1862; rather, it seems to reflect some of the influences of Cabianca's trip to Paris the year before with Signorini and Banti.

Provenance: Finarte Sale, Milan, April 1979, no. 177, pl. 47. Allemandi, 1983, p. 77.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1862, no. 452. Florence, 1980, no. 14. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 19.

**Vincenzo Cabianca**
**90.** *Viareggio/Viareggio,* 1863-64
Oil on panel
18 × 32 cm./7⅛ × 12⅝ in.
Initialed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *V.C. 1856* On the *verso* a small card bears the stamp *Vincenzo Cabianca 1827-1902,* the words *282 — Viareggio 1856/ Dipinto di Vincenzo Cabianca mio padre.* In black pencil: *CCLXXXII.* Finally, the stamp: *Raccolta Eredi Cabianca n. 282 [Collection of the Cabianca Heirs n. 282]*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 116)

All of the critics who have written about this painting have assigned it the date 1856. This unanimity of opinion can be traced to the inscription on the back of the painting, which has always been considered to be in Cabianca's own hand. However, one can see by careful examination that both the date and the initials were put there relatively recently; in all probability they were added by Cabianca's son Silvio.

This small painting, which shares a certain affinity with Costa's sensibility for landscape, was surely done by Cabianca during the period of his closest working relationship with Costa. That period began at the end of 1863 after Costa's return to Italy from a long stay in France and England, and ended in June 1864, when Costa left Florence for Rome. Fresh from his experiences in France and England, and in close contact with the Tuscan school, Costa directly involved Cabianca in his work. A letter from Costa to Cabianca dated June 23, 1864 documents the close friendship that the two painters had formed.

Provenance: Adelaide Cabianca, Rome. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1928; purchased from Adelaide Cabianca; inv. no. 3548;, N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 50; N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 27).

Exhibitions: Milan, 1927, no. 102. Rome, 1927-28, no. 25. Rome 1956, no. 37, p. 48. Munich, 1975-76, no. 115, pl. 115. Florence, 1976, no. 116.

**Vincenzo Cabianca**
**91.** *Spiaggia a Viareggio/Beach at Viareggio,* 1865
Oil on canvas
40 × 77 cm./15¾ × 30¼ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *V. Cabianca 1865*
Gallery of Modern Art, Genoa-Nervi
(Florence 1976, no. 117)

This painting remained unpublished for a long period of time, despite the fact that it belongs to a public collection. It is representative of Cabianca's work during the years following his departure from Florence in 1863, his years of reflection while living in Parma (until 1869). During this period Cabianca's work is characterized by different and sometimes sharply contrasting interests, ranging from historical scenes to genre painting, to architectural interiors and cloisters, to landscapes.

In this *Beach at Viareggio,* which is derived from a study now in the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome (cat. no. 90), Cabianca attempts to mold together (without achieving a convincing synthesis) a completely diffuse luminosity characteristic of the work of Costa with a narrative element prevalent in Signorini's work, that of the fishermen's children visible in the foreground.

Provenance: Prince Odone, Genoa. Gallery of Modern Art, Genoa (gift of Prince Odone).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 116, pl. 116. Florence, 1976, no. 117.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**92.** *Contadina nel campo*/***Peasant Woman in the Field***, c. 1867
Oil on panel
18 × 13.2 cm./7 × 5¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *G. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 112)

Despite its diminutive dimensions, this panel, and a few similar works painted in the area between Castiglioncello and Leghorn, are among the purest achievements of Fattori's art. He succeeds in endowing small details and fleeting impressions with a sense of depth and meaning. It was during the Castiglioncello period that this feature of Fattori's art was first apparent, and he produced a number of outstanding studies. In fact, many of Fattori's works achieve a poetic intensity and originality of vision that transcend the accomplishments of the other Macchiaioli.

Marangoni was the first critic to notice Fattori's novel juxtaposition of a characteristically "masculine, almost rough style" with a sense of delicacy and grace, and thus opened the way for a better understanding of Fattori's very modern, surprisingly European style (Marangoni, 1921, p. 346.).

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913). Sambalino Coll., Florence. Sambalino Sale, 1917, no. 109. Ugo Ojetti, Florence. Piero Dini, Milan. *'800* Sale, Manzoni Gall., 1972, pl. 7. *'800* Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1972, pl. 16.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 108, pl. 108. Florence, 1976, no. 112. Paris, 1978-79, no. 69. Lugano, 1979, no. 73. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 28.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**93.** *Diego Martelli a cavallo*/***Diego Martelli on Horseback***, c. 1867 (Plate X)
Oil on canvas
23 × 30 cm./9 × 11¾ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
On the *verso*, in pen and ink: *Ritratto di Diego Martelli/sul suo cavallo Trimpellone/opera di mano di G. Fattori [Portrait of Diego Martelli/on his horse Trimpellone/work by the hand of G. Fattori]*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 109)

Diego Martelli, the political savant and patron of the Macchiaioli, was portrayed by various artists of the group. Painters such as Borrani and Fattori sketched Martelli and his wife around the exterior of their villa at Castiglioncello. In this portrait, Martelli is seated on horseback in the fields of the villa. The sitter's presence in this simple setting is enhanced by Fattori's use of the brilliant, shadowless sun of high noon. This painting offers the viewer a relaxed yet impressive view of one of the figures most responsible for the *macchia* group's popular exposure and success.

Provenance: Vincenzo Giustiniani, Florence (Rome Cat., 1921). Giustiniani Sale, 1929, no. 182, pl. XI. Leone Ambron, Florence. Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1947; gift of Leone Abron to the City of Florence; inv. no. 1139. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 21).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 5, no. 13. Leghorn, 1953, no. 42, pl. 42. Florence, 1953, no. 42. Munich, 1975-76, no. 102, pl. 102. Florence, 1976, no. 109. Rome N.G.M.A., 1982, no. 2.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**94.** *Ortolani*/***The Market Gardeners***, c. 1867
Oil on panel
11 × 21.5 cm./4⅜ × 8½ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 111)

Marangoni comments on another Fattori painting in terms that also describe *The Market Gardeners*: "The contrast between the powerful energy of the brushstrokes and the subtle refinement of the tones seems to endow the painter's palette with a new life. A few strong, fundamental strokes, enlivened by lighter, quicker, and more luminous highlights, succeed in giving us the sensation of rustling, shiny foliage. The brushstrokes are put down on the canvas with such immediacy and ease that they suggest the spontaneity of a sketch, but without being in the least bit facile or improvised. This technique, at once subtle and spontaneous, generates forms that are understated and true to life." (Marangoni 1921, p. 346.)

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Gustavo Sforni, Florence (Malesci, 1961). Giovanni Verusio, Rome. Piero Dini, Milan. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 25, repr.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 107, pl. 107. Florence, 1976, no. 111. Paris, 1978-79, no. 70. Lugano, 1979, no. 72. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 27. Pistoia, 1983, p. 40.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**95.** *La signora Martelli a Castiglioncello/Signora Martelli at Castiglioncello,* c. 1867
Oil on panel
20 × 35 cm./7⅞ × 13¾ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Florence 1976, no. 108)

It is probable that this picture was painted during Fattori's first stay at Castiglioncello in 1867, at the same time as similar portraits of Diego Martelli (Florence 1976, no. 107) and of Valerio Biondi (cat. no. 99). In all three of these portraits Fattori depicts his friends seated in chairs under the trees at Castiglioncello.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence. G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn (since December 1908; purchased from Giovanni Malesci; inv. no. 7; Leghorn Museum Cat., 1950, room VI, no. 14, pl. 9; Fattori Cat., Leghorn, 1973, p. 14, repr. p. 15).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925, room D., no. 7. Leghorn, 1953, no. 32, pl. 32. Florence, 1953, no. 32, repr. Rome, 1956, no. 94, pl. 39. The Hague, 1972-73, no. 28. Munich, 1975-76, no. 100, pl. 100. Florence, 1976, no. 108. Paris, 1978-79, no. 68. Lugano, 1979, no. 71. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 26.

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**Giovanni Fattori**
**96.** *Case e pagliaio/Houses and Haystack,* c. 1869
Oil on panel
22 × 14 cm./8¾ × 5½ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *G.F.*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 113)

This is another example of what Marangoni called "colored jewels," in which Fattori's artistic forcefulness is tempered by an exquisite delicacy and where "his virile, rough exterior" hides "a delicacy of feeling characteristic of a pure, tender soul" (Marangoni, 1921).

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence (Leghorn Cat., 1953). Mario Galli, Florence (Malesci, 1961). Zaccaria Pisa, Milan (Pisa Sale, 1934, no. 99, pl. 99). Ermanno Luti, Florence. Roberto Nardini, Florence (Leghorn Cat., 1953).

Exhibitions: Leghorn, 1953, no. 44, pl. 44. Florence, 1953, no. 44. Munich, 1975-76, no. 109, pl. 109. Florence, 1976, no. 113. Paris, 1978-79, no. 72. Lugano, 1979, no. 70.

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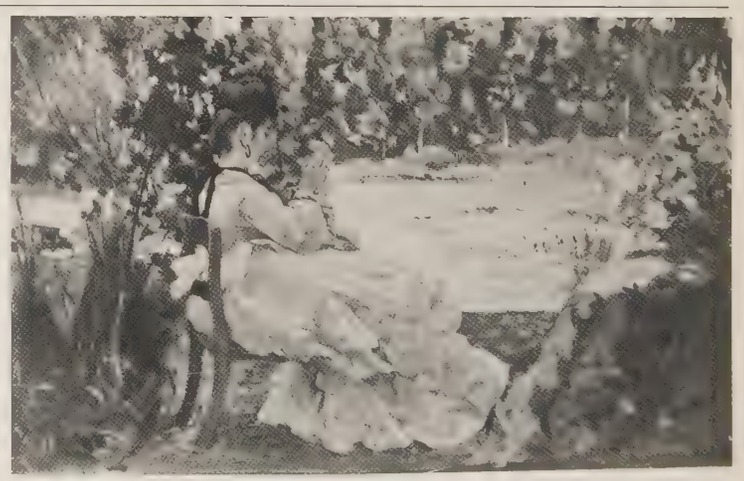
**Giovanni Fattori**
**97.** *Ragazza in giardino/Girl in the Garden,* c. 1870
Oil on panel
14 × 23.5 cm./5½ × 9¼ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *G.F.*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 229)

This painting depicts the atmosphere of genteel leisure found at the residence of Francesco Gioli (1846-1922), an artist who was influenced by the work of the Macchiaioli. The atmosphere there was quite different from the more lively and animated scene at Castiglioncello during the Macchiaioli's heyday. The characteristics of life at the Gioli residence seem to have suited Fattori's talent for observation, as well as his gift for characterization of a given ambience. The painting is similar in style and tone to Lega's later painting of the same subject, *In the Garden* (cat. no. 150).

Provenance: Gustavo Sforni, Florence (R. Franchi, 1949). Mary Terni, Florence (Alazard, 1950).

Exhibitions: Leghorn, 1953, no. 39, pl. 39. Florence, 1953, no. 39. Rome, 1956, no. 95, pl. 40. Florence, 1976, no. 229. Tokyo, 1979, no. 63.



**Giovanni Fattori**
**98.** *Raccolta del fieno in Maremma/Hay Harvest in the Maremma,* c. 1870-71
Oil on canvas
110 × 160 cm./43¼ × 63 in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio Fattori Livorno*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Malesci 1961, no. 649)

This picture, which can be dated around 1870-71, was painted after Sernesi and Abbati had died and Borrani was no longer present in the Maremma, and Fattori alone continued to go to Castiglioncello, as a beloved guest of his friend Diego Martelli. The work, which was surely painted by Fattori in his studio in Florence, definitely does not have the spontaneous quality of execution of the *Buoi al carro (Oxen and Cart)* (Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence). Indeed, it has a certain composite quality, especially in the figure of the peasant to the right of the cart, where we can sense a sort of idyllic echo of Costa's manner.

This remains an important work by Fattori because it is a summary of his experiments at Castiglioncello and because of the reverent quality characteristic of Fattori's later important works such as *Maremma toscana* (Florence 1976, no. 282). It is noteworthy as well for its vigorous, lively workmanship and its monumental size, which was to be a hallmark of Fattori's late pictures of the Maremma.

Provenance: Marcello Banti. Geri Gall. Sale, Milan, March 1939, pl. 1. Allemandi, 1983, p. 216.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1871, no. 227.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**99.** *Valerio Biondi a Castiglioncello/Valerio Biondi at Castiglioncello,* n.d.
Oil on panel
15 × 13 cm./5⅞ × 5⅛ in.
Signed in the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Florence
(Malesci 1961, no. 43)

Valerio Biondi, an attorney from Leghorn who was a very close friend of Diego Martelli and Fattori, is portrayed here in the same casual pose as Diego Martelli in *Diego Martelli at Castiglioncello* (Florence 1976, no. 107), which suggests that the two works were painted about the same time.

Provenance: Private collection. Parronchi Gall. Sale, Florence, June 1984, no. 16..

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**100.** *Bovi neri al carro/Black Oxen Hitched to a Cart,* c. 1862-63
Oil on panel
15 × 25.5 cm./5⅞ × 10 in.
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 84)

This picture, of which there is a larger, longer version, was almost certainly painted by Sernesi during one of his first excursions to Castiglioncello, between 1862 and 1863.

Provenance: Sambalino Coll., Florence. Sambalino Sale, 1917, p. 7, no. 138, pl. XXII. Mario Galli, Florence, Galli Sale, 1926, no. 65, pl. I. Giorgio Forti (Cecchi, 1963). Renato Tassi, Florence *(ivi)*. Raul Reali, Florence *(ivi)*. S. Luca Gall. Sale, 1969.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1930, room XXI, no. 11. Munich, 1975-76, no. 78, pl. 78. Florence, 1976, no. 84. Tokyo, 1979, no. 94.

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**101.** *La punta del Romito veduta da Castiglioncello/The Romito Point As Viewed from Castiglioncello,* c. 1865
Oil on canvas
18 × 67 cm./7⅛ × 26⅜ in.
Private collection, Rome
(Florence 1980, no. 16)

The Romito Point was a promontory near Castiglioncello that was also featured in the work of Fattori.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Riccardo Gualino, Turin. Pisa Coll. Sale, Pesaro Gall., Milan, 1934 (no. 41, pl. 121). Ermanno Luti, Florence. Mario Borgiotti, Florence. Luigi Pisani, Milan. Gherardo Celestini, Milan.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1926, no. 90 (attr. to Borrani). Turin, 1928. Paris, 1935, no. 29 (attr. to Borrani). Rome, 1956, no. 74. Montecatini, 1963. New York, 1963-64. Florence, 1980, no. 16. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no.20.

**Raffaello Sernesi**
**102.** *Marina a Castiglioncello/Seacoast at Castiglioncello,* c. 1865-66
Oil on canvas
27.6 × 82 cm./10⅞ × 32¼ in.
Private collection, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 85)

This work, the most important painting produced by Sernesi at Castiglioncello, is a view of the beach as seen from a point near the Martelli villa. Ugo Ojetti wrote that in this painting Sernesi "seems to join the lyrical impetus of Fattori's landscapes of Leghorn and the Maremma with a magnificent finish, a wealth of colors, and a knowledge of composition that would have impressed Costa. It has always seemed impossible to me that this masterful landscape could have been painted before 1866. At that time it would have been unparalleled not only in Tuscany but perhaps in all of Italy" (Ojetti, 1928, p. 13).

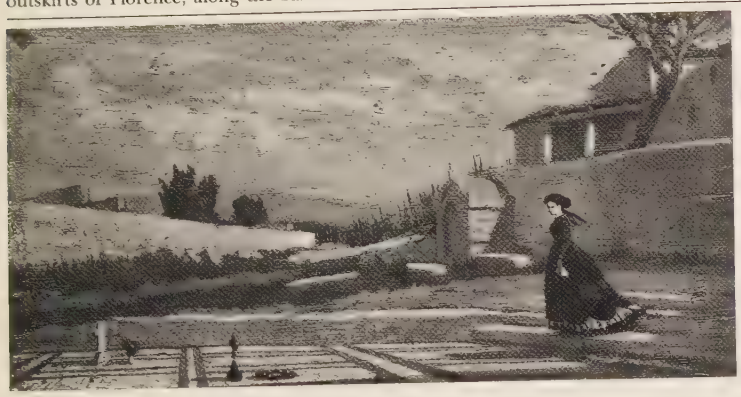
Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1928, n. 59, pl. CXXX. Camillo Giussani, Erba-Milan (Comanducci, 1934).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 72, p. 57. Munich, 1975-76, no. 79, pl. 79. Florence, 1976, no. 85. Paris, 1978-79, no. 44. Lugano, 1979, no. 46.

As in the case of Castiglioncello, there is a scarcity of documents and reliable information about the group at Piagentina, yet we know that this spontaneous gathering of artists constituted one of the most important moments of the Macchiaioli movement. The painter who quickly emerged as the outstanding artist at Piagentina was Silvestro Lega, despite the fact that Signorini was the organizer and moving force behind the new "school."

In 1861 Lega began to frequent the Piagentina countryside on the southern outskirts of Florence, along the banks of the Affrico River. His meetings with Signorini, who in 1862 had moved to a nearby house, were significant. Signorini had visited the Paris Salon the previous year and had come back impressed above all with the works of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Constant Troyon, and Charles-François Daubigny. Lega began to work with Signorini, and shortly thereafter came the first visits of Borrani, Abbati, and Sernesi.

"How full of passion, enthusiasm, and feverish activity," wrote Signorini, "were those wonderful days spent with him [Lega] in the countryside with which he was so familiar, together with that small intellectual circle of friends. . . ." (*Caricaturisti*, 1893). At first this collective sense of enthusiasm was similar to the spirit of Castiglioncello. At the Martelli villa the optimistic spirit of the generation of 1848 was still somewhat predominant. At Piagentina, however, there seemed to be a growing withdrawal into melancholy and privacy, especially noticeable in Lega's own work. This tendency was also present, although in a different manner, in the landscapes and genre scenes of Sernesi, Abbati, and Borrani. It seems to express the rapid change in the mood of Italian society related to the grave political crises of the time. The death of Cavour in 1861 and the dramatic events which culminated in the disastrous battle of Aspromonte in 1862, when Garibaldi was wounded by Piedmontese troops, especially distressed Italian artists and intellectuals.



**Giuseppe Abbati**
**103.** *Le Porte Sante/The Holy Gates*, c. 1864
Oil on panel
13 × 26 cm./5¼ × 10¼ in.
Illegible inscriptions in the lower right-hand and left-hand sides
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 143)

This work is usually dated 1862, but probably belongs to a period that closely followed the one during which *Strada di Paese (Small-Town Street)* (Florence, 1976 no. 142), *Stradina al sole (Small Street in the Sun)* (Florence 1976, no. 141), and the *Le mura di San Gimignano (The Walls of San Gimignano)* (Florence 1976, no. 140) were painted. This work does bear some resemblance to the so-called *Prato dello Strozzino* where the same building that appears in *Small Street in the Sun* can be seen in the distance, and seems to fit naturally into a process of development leading up to the Castiglioncello and Florence paintings, which date from 1864.

The severe, melancholy image of the grave is a recurrent theme in Abbati's personal iconology.

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1929, no. 109, pl. V. Mario Galli, Florence. Piero Dello Strologo, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan. Spinetti Gall. Sale, 1974, repr.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 143. Tokyo, 1979, no. 4. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 37.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**104.** *Trecciaiola al sole/Woman Braiding in the Sun*, c. 1865
Oil on panel
28 × 18 cm./11 × 7 in.
Private collection
(Dini 1981, no. 64)

This small painting has affinities with certain of Borrani's Castiglioncello works, but brings to mind elements of the countryside around Florence, particularly the characteristic straw hat worn by the peasant woman. The execution of this painting is extremely close to Borrani's style of 1865-66, and the thin, transparent quality of the color recalls works from the same years by Abbati and Fattori.

Provenance: Giustiniani Sale, 1929, no. 100, pl. XX.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**105.** *L'analfabeta/The Illiterate*, 1869
Oil on canvas
75 × 41.5 cm./29½ × 16⅜ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani 1869*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 159)

This depiction of a domestic interior, in which a woman is shown with her servant, is similar in style to earlier paintings by Borrani such as *The Seamstresses of the Red Shirts* (1863) (cat. no. 14). This type of interior scene was common in Victorian Europe and America although compositions such as these with their specific detail often contained symbolic references to a specific message. This picture — except for Borrani's acknowledgment of his fellow artists in the form of the Signorini landscape *Ville a Piagentina (Country Houses at Piagentina)* hanging on the wall — appears to be a realistic depiction of a scene common to many Tuscan households. Its title, however, underscores the inferior social status of the standing servant and her relationship to the seated woman.

Illiteracy was one of the most crucial problems facing the new government after the unification of Italy. In 1861, 78% of all Italians were illiterate. As this painting eloquently shows, illiteracy contributed to the preservation of the cultural and political hegemony of the upper classes. Even in a matter as personal and intimate as the writing of a letter, a peasant woman had to rely on her employer, which made her subject to a form of social control. The conservative arguments against compulsory schooling reflected this fear of a change in the social order. Even the Coppino law of 1877, which instituted compulsory elementary education, expected it to be a kind of indoctrination in which children would "be. . .taught to remain in their natural social condition, rather than be encouraged to abandon it."

Provenance: Camillo Giussani, Milan. Mimmo Scarfone, Milan (Munich, 1975-76). Allemandi, 1984, p. 69.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 161, pl. 161. Florence, 1976, 159. Paris, 1978-79, no. 99. Lugano, 1979, no. 104. Florence, 1981, no. 20. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 45. Pistoia, 1983, p. 30.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**106.** *Il Mugnone/The Mugnone*, c. 1870
Oil on panel
25.5 × 38.5 cm./10 × 15¼ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 147)

The Mugnone, a tributary of the Arno River that was a favorite subject of both Abbati and Borrani during the Piagentina years, is here rendered with a sense of stillness that is "enchanted, absorbed, and almost cold" (Cecchi, 1925-26).

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Sambalino Coll., Florence. Sambalino Sale, 1917, no. 73, pl. V. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since June 1, 1917; purchased the from Sambalino Coll.; inv. no. 2268. N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 15, repr. p. 82. N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 27, repr. p. 186).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 256, pl. 87. Munich 1975-76, no. 150, pl. 150. Florence, 1976, no. 147. Paris 1978-79, no. 87. Lugano, 1979, no. 88.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**107.** *Il Mugnone presso il Parterre/The Mugnone near the Parterre*, c. 1870
Oil on panel
38 × 26 cm./15 × 10¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *O. Borrani*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 174)

The stylistic similarities of this landscape and another painting entitled *Lungo il Mugnone (Along the Mugnone)* (Florence 1976, no. 175) attest to the influence of Lega on Borrani in the last years of the Piagentina school.

This painting was praised by Cecchi for its "romantic, ecstatic serenity." Its emotional tone makes it an unusual and rather isolated instance in Borrani's *oeuvre*, and shows the impact of Borrani's close working relationship with the ardent, passionate Lega.

Provenance: Rinaldo Carnielo, Florence (Focardi, 1911). Mario Vannini-Parenti, Florence (Cecchi, 1925-26).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 466 or 469 [?]. Venice, 1928, p. 33, no. 28. Florence, 1973, no. 3, pl. 3. Munich, 1975-76, no. 151, pl. 151. Florence, 1976, no. 174. Tokyo, 1979, no. 25. Florence, 1981, no. 24. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 41.

**Adriano Cecioni**
**108.** *Amaca/The Hammock,* c. 1867
Oil on canvas
16 × 19 cm./6¼ × 11½ in.
Private collection
(Florence 1980, no. 20)

The warm color scheme of this painting and the vegetation visible through the window appear to be Neapolitan in inspiration, and are frankly reminiscent of the style of the Neapolitan painter Giacinto Gigante (1806-76). It was probably done immediately after Cecioni's return to Florence in 1867 from his extended stay in Naples.

Provenance: Mario Borgiotti, Milan. Private collection, Turin.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 20. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 44.

**Adriano Cecioni**
**109.** *Interno con figura/Interior with Figure,* c. 1867 (Plate XIII)
Oil on canvas
28.5 × 35.5 cm./11¼ × 14 in.
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 170)

Cecioni returned to Florence after a long period in Naples (1863-1867) made possible by a scholarship. At this time (i.e., in the final years of the Piagentina "school"), Cecioni became associated with the Macchiaioli. He brought the benefits of his Neapolitan experience to the Caffè Michelangiolo group, as well as his influential contacts with the painters who had formed the Resina "school": De Nittis, Rossano, and De Gregorio. Even though he was a sculptor at heart, Cecioni began to paint more at this time than during any other period in his career. His work possesses a kind of intimacy of scale and a descriptive approach which is characterized by a careful treatment of light effects and tonal relations, as well as by a lively use of color.

Martelli (1952) writes that during this period [shortly after his return from Naples], "Adriano would appear at the Promotrice with some small paintings, in which he had made extremely precise studies of ratios and proportions within domestic interiors, to the analysis of which he was deeply and sincerely committed." Therefore, we date this *Interior with Figure* to this period. The question of the subject matter of this painting has not been resolved. It has been suggested that the young woman is praying, but the key to this puzzle seems to be the identification of the object on the small table in front of her.

Provenance: Ubaldo Giugni, Florence. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1940; gift of Ubaldo Giugni; inv. no. 3802; N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., p. 52, repr. p. 89; N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 28).
Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 289, pl. 101. Munich, 1975-76, no. 163, pl. 163. Florence, 1976, no. 170. Paris, 1978-79, no. 100. Lugano, 1979, no. 100.

**Adriano Cecioni**
**110.** *Le ricamatrici/The Embroiderers,* c. 1867
Oil on canvas
52.5 × 41 cm./20⅝ × 16¼ in.
Private collection, Turin
(Munich 1975-76, no. 166)

More than any other picture in Cecioni's *oeuvre,* this painting bears comparison with the works of Lega and Borrani from this period. This picture, less naive than most other works by Cecioni, is similar to the interiors of Lega and Borrani in its careful rendering of light effects and poetic play of colors.

Intent on their domestic chore of embroidery decoration, these women tend to their duty with the same intensity as those who sewed red shirts for Garibaldi and stitched the first tricolor that entered Florence upon its independence from the reigning grand duke. Cecioni structures the composition so the viewer immediately comprehends the task being performed, and focuses on the group effort, using light, careful cropping. Domestic labor is seen by him as not only an everyday duty, but also one accompanied by fervent determination.

Provenance: Ferrari, Rome. Narciso Gall., Turin. Allemandi, 1983, p. 143.
Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 166, pl. 166. Paris, 1978, no. 104. Lugano, 1978, no. 102.

**Adriano Cecioni**
**111.** *La Zia Erminia/Aunt Erminia*, c. 1867
Oil on canvas
25.5 × 26.5 cm./10⅛ × 10½ in.(?)
Initialed on the lower right-hand side: *A.C.*
Museo Medioevale e Moderno, Arezzo
(Florence 1976, no. 172)

Along with the *Interior with Figure* (cat. no. 109), this portrait is one of the finest examples of that almost naive quality in Cecioni's work, which was his most original contribution to the domestic intimacy of the paintings of the Piagentina "school."

Provenance: Mario Salmi, Rome. Museo Medioevale e Moderno, Arezzo (gift of Mario Salmi).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 293, pl. 104. Munich, 1975-76, no. 164, pl. 164. Florence, 1976, no. 172. Paris, 1978, no. 102. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 43.

**Silvestro Lega**
**112.** *Triptych*
a) *Ritratto di Virginia Batelli/Portrait of Virginia Batelli*, 1861
Oil on canvas
15 × 12.5 cm./5⅞ × 4⅞ in.
b) *Studio di paese/Landscape Study*, 1861
Oil on paper applied to panel
15 × 12.5 cm./5⅞ × 4⅞ in.
Signed and dated: *S. Lega 1861*
c) *Arco rustico e figure/Rustic Arch and Figures*, 1861
Oil on paper applied to panel
21.4 × 16.8 cm./8⅜ × 6½ in.

According to Signorini, "around 1861, after the first Italian Exposition, [Lega] left for the country and started to look for inspiration and self-expression in nature. . ." Martelli writes along the same lines that "only in 1861, when the National Exposition in Florence allowed all the Italian artists to come together and compare each other's work, did Silvestro Lega feel compelled to go back to the countryside, from which he returned with several very important studies from life . . ." (Martelli, 1952, pp. 240-243). The *Triptych* belongs to the group of studies done in this period.

The sitter in the portrait was the daughter of Spirito Batelli, a liberal supporter of the Ricasoli government and a great friend of Lega. In 1865 Lega moved to the Batelli house in Piagentina, which would later become a sanctuary and meeting place for several of the Macchiaioli. This work documents both the artist's affection for Virginia Batelli and his first crucial experiments in painting from nature in the Piagentina countryside.

Provenance: Vittore Grubicy de Dragon, Milan. Gallery of Modern Art, Milan (since 1920; bequest of Vittore Grubicy de Dragon; inv. nos. 1706, 1707, 1708; G.M.A., Milan, 1935 Cat., nos. 1115, 1116, 1117).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 166, pl. 66. Bologna, 1973, no. 14, pl. 14. Munich, 1975-76, no. 128, pl. 128. Florence, 1976, no. 133. Paris, 1978-79, no. 78. Lugano, 1979, no 78.

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**Silvestro Lega**
**113.** *Educazione al lavoro/The Lesson*, 1863
Oil on canvas
91.5 × 67 cm./36 × 26⅓ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *S. Lega 1863*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Dini 1983, no. 23)

This picture recently reappeared on the market after having remained virtually unknown since it was first shown in the Genoa Promotrice of 1864, and became part of the collection of the family of the Genovese painter Evaristo Chiossone.

The painting depicts a typical middle-class home of the time, giving us an idea of what the Batelli villa, where Lega was a guest for so many years, must have been like. The woman seated on the chair is in all likelihood Virginia Batelli Her simple, sober clothing and the quiet severity of the softly sunlit room offer us a glimpse of the difficult financial circumstances of the Batelli family after the collapse of the publishing house founded by Vincenzo Batelli.

Provenance: Evaristo Chiossone, Genoa. Chiossone Estate, Rome. Allemandi, 1984, p. 257.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1863, no. 122. Genoa, 1864, no. 42.

**Silvestro Lega**
**114.** *Passeggiata in giardino/A Walk in the Garden,* 1864
Oil on panel
23.3 × 17.7 cm./9¼ × 7 in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega 1864*
Private collection, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 152)

It is possible that this is a study for another painting now lost, entitled *La passeggiata (The Stroll).* Signorini refers to it in 1895 as one of the paintings done by Lega during this period which was shown at the 1870 Parma Exhibition.

Lega's tendency to modify the relationship between the size of the painting and the size of the figures — with the figures gaining the kind of central importance that they would later assume in Lega's interiors — is obvious in the *Walk in the Garden.*

(Borgiotti, 1961). Mario Borgiotti, Milan (Bologna Cat., 1973). Emilio Gagliardini, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan (Bologna Cat., 1973). Vittorio Duca, Milan *(ivi).*

Exhibitions: Modigliana, 1926, no. 72. Montecatini, 1963. New York, 1963-64, no. 194, repr. Bologna, 1973, no. 27, pl. 27. Munich, 1975-76, no. 137, pl. 137. Florence, 1976, no. 152. Paris, 1978-79, no. 79. Lyons, 1981, no. 4. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 39.

**Silvestro Lega**
**115.** *La visita in villa/The Visit to the Villa,* 1864
Oil on panel
32 × 79.6 cm./12⅔ × 31⅓ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega 64*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 155)

This picture is not mentioned in any of the sources or literature on Lega. The late-autumn landscape leads us to presume that the picture, which is dated 1864, was painted during the fall of that year.

The embankment in the picture is not, as some critics have thought, that of the Affrico river; this is clearly demonstrated by the presence on the horizon of the outline of the hills of Monte alle Croci and San Leonardo. Rather, this is the embankment of the ancient Via di Piagentina (today called Via Beato Angelico), near the Batelli villa. Nevertheless, the house on the right in the picture does not appear to be the Batelli villa, although it was referred to as such in the Modigliana exhibition catalogue of 1926. It may be a farmhouse adjacent to the villa.

Provenance: Rinaldo Carnielo, Florence. G. Biasutti, Florence (Modigliana Cat., 1926). Mario Galli, Florence. Robert Soria, Milan. Soria Sale, 1931, pl. XLVI. Mario Borgiotti, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan.

Exhibitions: Modigliana, 1926, no. 67. Rome, 1930, room XVII, no. 24. Bologna, 1973, no. 31, pl. 31. Munich, 1975-76, no. 140, pl. 140. Florence, 1976, no. 155. Paris, 1978-79, no. 89. Lugano, 1979, no. 89. Lyons, 1981, no. 6. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 40. Pistoia, 1983, no. 66.

**Silvestro Lega**
**116.** *Il pergolato/The Trellis,* 1868
Oil on canvas
75 × 93.5 cm./29½ × 36¾ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega 1868*
Brera Gallery, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 162)

*The Trellis,* painted during one of Lega's most creative periods, was exhibited at the Promotrice in Florence in 1868 with the title *Dopo pranzo (After Lunch).* Tinti published the painting for the first time with its present title in 1923. He described the painting's "cohesiveness" and "stylistic elegance, which could be compared in literature to the finest passages of Flaubert and Manzoni" (Tinti, 1923, p. 214). Cecchi spoke of Lega having attained "that same clear and composed vision that Ingres had acquired from our fifteenth-century painting, thus leaving his mark on an era; this vision, in the work of Lega, who was taught by Mussini and Ciseri, manifests itself above all in the loving study of real life" (Cecchi, 1926, p. 44).

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Galli Sale, 1915, pl. 2. Emanuele Rosselli, Viareggio. Rosselli Sale, 1931, no. 13, pl. 42. Brera Gallery, Milan (since 1931; gift of the "Friends of the Brera;" inv. no. 964; Brera Cat., 1935, p. 178, no. 946).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1868, no. 78. Modigliana, 1926, no. 82. Rome, 1930, room XVII, no. 32. Paris, 1935, no. 129. Rome, 1952, p. 33, pl. XVIII. Faenza, 1955, no. 290. Rome, 1956, no. 175. The Hague, 1972-73, no. 34. Bologna, 1973, no. 41, pl. 41. Munich, 1975-76, no. 156, pl. 156. Flornece, 1976, no. 162. Paris, 1978-79, no. 94. Lugano, 1979, no. 95.

**Silvestro Lega**
**117.** *La visita/The Visit,* 1868
Oil on canvas
31 × 60 cm./12¼ × 23⅝ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *S. Lega 1868*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 161)

This painting, one of Lega's most famous works, was exhibited in Turin and Florence in 1868 to critical acclaim. Cecioni, in his review of the exhibition in Florence, said that "Silvestro Lega has exhibited three paintings with the following subjects: *Il dopo pranzo* [*After Lunch* (*The Trellis*, cat. no. 116)], *Il ritorno da S. Salvi* [*The Return from San Salvi*], and *La Visita* [*The Visit*], which is the best of the three. This artist too has the merit of practicing a kind of local art which intimately belongs to Florence; in his works one sees, over and above the individual personality of the artist, the personality of Tuscany itself" (Cecioni, 1905, pp. 107-114).

Provenance: Pisani Gall., Florence (purchased at the Parma Exposition of 1870: Pisani Coll., 1908). National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1910; purchased at the Retrospective Exposition, Florence; inv. no. 1025; N.G.M.A., Rome, 1917 Cat., p. 38; N.G.M.A., Rome, 1923 Cat., repr. p. 131; N.G.M.A., Rome, 1932 Cat., repr. p. 42; N.G.M.A., 1951 Itin., repr. p. 57; N.G.M.A., 1973 Itin., p. 185).

Exhibitions: Turin, 1868, no. 152. Florence, 1868, no. 80. Genoa, 1869, room III, no. 116. Milan, 1869, no. 122. Parma, 1870, no. 854. Florence, 1910, no. 413. Modigliana, 1926, no. 1937, room 2, no. 33. Faenza, 1955, no. 304. Rome, 1956, no. 174. Bologna, 1973, no. 40, pl. 40. Munich, 1975-76, no 155, pl. 155. Florence, 1976, no. 161. Paris, 1978-79. no. 93. Lugano, 1979, no. 94.

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**Silvestro Lega**
**118.** *La pittrice/The Painter,* 1869
Oil on canvas
81 × 35 cm./31⅞ × 13¾ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Dini 1984, no. 72)

This painting, which recently reappeared on the market, is most likely the same work shown in 1869 in Turin. It is one of Lega's most successful works, and indeed belongs to one of the most creative periods of the artist's entire career. The compositional scheme succeeds in rendering a sense of space through successive levels of depth created by the easel on the left of the divan in the background and the portfolios of drawings on the floor, and also through the contrast of the green and blue squares of the woman's dress against the yellows and lilacs of the background. All of these elements combine with a lively sense of intimacy that is unparalleled except perhaps by other works from this period such as *The Trellis* (cat. no. 116) and *Il canto dello stornello (Singing the Stornello)* (Florence 1976, no. 160).

Provenance: Private collection, New York.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1869, no. 129. Milan, 1870, no. 9. Genoa, 1870, no. 5. Parma, 1870, no. 865. Naples, 1871.

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**Silvestro Lega**
**119.** *I promessi sposi/The Betrothed,* 1869 (Plate XII)
Oil on canvas
36 × 80 cm./14¼ × 31½ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *S. Lega '69*
Museum of Science and Technology. Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 163)

The theme and the title of this painting allude to Alessandro Manzoni's novel *I promessi sposi* (1840), a masterpiece of historical realism which was also a political allegory advocating the unification of Italy. Manzoni's choice of plain, ordinary people from the lower classes as protagonists of an historical novel was a radical one. For him, as for the Macchiaioli, the "real" was to be found in common people and in everyday life. Manzoni describes the preparations for a peasant wedding in a rural setting and the shy, intimate conversation of the betrothed couple under the affectionate surveillance of the bride's mother. His literary descriptions employ a concise, clear style imbued with a delicate irony similar to that of this painting. However, this painting appears to portray a middle-class rather than peasant couple, and therefore may not be a direct illustration of Manzoni's novel.

Provenance: Cristiano Banti, Florence (Checcucci Sale, 1913). Enrico Checcucci, Florence (Florence Cat., 1910). Checcucci Sale, 1913, no. 225. Guido Rossi, Milan (London Cat., 1930; Perer, 1957). Museum of Science and Technology, Milan (gift of Guido Rossi).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1869, no. 281. Florence, 1910, no. 647, repr. London, 1930, no. 885. New York, 1949, no. 84. Milan, 1953, no. 178. Rome, 1956, no. 176, pl. 58. Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 34. Bologna, 1973, no. 43, pl. 43. Munich, 1975-76, no. 159, pl. 159. Florence, 1976, no. 163. Paris, 1978-79, no. 95. Lugano, 1979, no. 96. Lyons, 1981, no. 8.

**Silvestro Lega**
**120.** *La signorina Isolina Cecchini/**Signorina Isolina Cecchini,*** 1869
Oil on canvas
24.2 × 18.4 cm./9½ × 7¼ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega 869.* On the *verso,* in pen and ink: *S. Lega. Proprietà di Eleonora Cecchini* and, in childish handwriting: *la mamma di Enrico Loschetti/quando era fidanzata col suo babbo [Enrico Loschetti's mamma/when she was engaged to his papa]*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 165)

A group of portraits painted around 1870 testifies to Lega's intimacy with the Cecchini family. Thanks to recent research by Piero Dini, we know that Lega's friendship with the Cecchini family began in 1858 when the painter returned from Florence to his native Modigliana to paint the four lunettes for the Chiesa del Cantore. It was at this time that Lega met Francesco Cecchini, who was then a magistrate in a nearby town and an intimate friend of Bishop Mario Mellini of Modigliana. Francesco's children, Maria, Giuseppe, and Alfredo, as well as his wife Maddalena, also sat for Lega, but none of these portraits possesses the affectionate intensity of this painting of Isolina.

Provenance: Eleonora Cecchini-Tommasi, Florence (Florence cat., 1921). L. Cassuto, Leghorn. Siro Sarini, Milan. Carini Gall. Sale, 1961, no. 21, repr. Carini Gall. Sale, 1969, no. 29, repr. Piero Dini, Milan. La Cupola Gall. Sale, 1964, pl. 3. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1966, no. 34.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1921, nos. 39-42. Modigliana, 1926, no. 86. Bologna, 1973, no. 42, pl. 42. Munich, 1975-76, no. 157, pl. 157.

**Rafaello Sernesi**
**121.** *Radura nel bosco/**Forest Glade,*** c. 1862-63
Oil on canvas
21 × 15 cm./8¼ × 5⅞ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 137)

This small painting may be considered a typical example of the kind of studies done by the painters of the Piagentina "school" during the early years along the banks of the Arno. It seems especially close to others done at the same time by Signorini, Madier, and Langlade (works done by the latter two artists were owned by Signorini himself). The style of this painting with its sensitively sketched trees and thinly painted surface is markedly different from that of Sernesi's bold *macchia* paintings of 1860-61. In the earlier paintings the Tuscan houses are defined by blocks of color and thick brushstrokes. This sketch is nevertheless remarkable for its fresh, unfinished quality, a hallmark of Sernesi's "mature" style (he was to die at the age of 28 of wounds received in a skirmish with the Austrians in 1866). Throughout his brief career, Sernesi maintained a style consistent with the Macchiaioli aesthetic: a quickly painted surface which conveyed the richness and immediacy of a given moment.

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 124, pl. CXXXVIII.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1976, no. 137. Paris, 1978-79, no. 83. Lugano, 1979, no. 83. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 35. Pistoia, 1983, no. 73.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**122.** *Il ponte d'Affrico a Piagentina/**The Affrico Bridge at Piagentina,*** 1862-63
Oil on canvas
24 × 30.2 cm./9½ × 11⅞ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *T.S.*
Private collection, Milan
(Munich 1975-76, no. 131)

During the early years of the Piagentina "school," the favorite sites for the Macchiaioli were along the banks of the Affrico and the Arno, between Bellariva and an old building called the "Casaccia."

This painting depicts a small bridge across the Affrico river, which was situated near the Batelli villa, and was one of the typical Piagentina sites painted repeatedly by Lega and Signorini.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 131, pl. 131. Paris, 1978-79, no. 80. Lugano, 1979, no. 79.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**123.** *Sul greto d'Arno/On the Riverbed of the Arno River,* c. 1863-65
Oil on drawing board
19 × 33 cm./7½ × 13 in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Telemaco Signorini*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 135)

This painting, commissioned by Diego Martelli's mother, once again takes up a theme that had fascinated Signorini since 1862. His numerous versions of and variations on this same subject all show the results of the nature studies that Signorini had so exhaustively pursued along the banks of the Arno between 1862 and 1863, in the company of Lega, Langlade, Sernesi, and Madier. Soon afterward, he was also joined by Borrani and Abbati (who had already exhibited one of his views of the Arno in 1863).

The conception and composition of this landscape are influenced by the work of Costa, in particular a view of a gravel embankment of the Arno from 1865. However, Signorini could also have been influenced by the Daubigny landscapes he saw in Paris, particularly *Rives de l'Oise (Banks of the Oise)*, shown at the 1861 Salon.

Provenance: Diego Martelli, Florence. City of Florence (from 1896; bequest of Diego Martelli). State Collections (from 1912; inv. no. 76). Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. Cat. no. 278. G.M.A., Florence, 1934 Itin., p. 2[illegible]. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 25).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1865, no. 12. Munich, 1975-76, no. 132, pl. 132. Florence, 1976, no. 135. Paris, 1978-79, no. 82. Lugano, 1979, no. 82. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 34.

## LATER TUSCAN REALISM

In the last three decades of the century, the Macchiaioli artists moved away from group efforts (the Caffè Michelangiolo had closed by 1870), and worked to develop their individual styles, although remaining in close contact with each other. Many of them were influenced by their European travels and exposure to new trends in realism, naturalism, and impressionism. Despite the fact that many of the idealistic dreams of the Risorgimento had been crushed by the realities of Italian unification, there was a new awareness of social problems and a belief that art could benefit from objective observation of economic and social conditions. It was an attitude that shared a deep affinity with social and artistic movements of the same period in other European countries, particularly in France.

The work of Fattori, Lega and Signorini stands out during this period as gaining a refinement and maturity that reflects their exposure to the art of other countries and a focus on more intimate and domestic subjects. Fattori painted a series of large canvases depicting the life of the Tuscan cowboy, the *buttero*, and a group of landscapes in the 1890s that used dramatic color and light contrasts. Lega, on the other hand, produced some of his largest genre paintings during these years, many of which depict family scenes with only one or two figures. Signorini's travels throughout the Continent and to England seemed to have reinforced his desire to create direct and objective portrayals of urban themes in the 1880s, although in the final decade of the century he settled again in Florence and painted the countryside and gardens in his village environment.

New motifs and a less optimistic mood characterize the late paintings of the Macchiaioli. Contact with new ideas and the rethinking of traditional values in the wake of a united Italy influenced the style and the language of the Macchiaioli, but they maintained their faith in the value of art and the importance of close links with the Italian landscape and its people.

**Cristiano Banti**
**124.** *Fanciulla che dà da mangiare ad un'anatra/Girl Feeding a Duck,* 1871
Oil on panel
24 × 14 cm./9½ × 5½ in.
Signed and dated on the lower right-hand side: *C. Banti 71*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 211)

Banti is represented in this exhibition by two works for which he did more than one version. As mentioned earlier, the famous *Gathering of Peasant Women* (1861) (cat. no. 45) existed in a more finished state and then was redone shortly thereafter in the *macchia* technique on a larger canvas (cat. no. 46). Two versions also exist of *Girl Feeding a Duck,* both approximately the same size. The one presented here is the earlier and again more finished version, thus revealing Banti's curious working process which reverses the traditional idea that the sketch or *macchia* preceeds the finished work. Banti did his first outdoor *macchia* studies in 1860-61. Later in his career his concern with costume, gesture, composition, and the play of light gave his work a more picturesque, even mannered quality. This is perhaps due to his penchant for repeating a theme with only slight variation. As in the works of Jules Breton, which Banti had admired since his first trip to Paris in 1861, the single figure fills a large portion of the space, dominating the landscape. This painting was owned by the painter Ernesto Bertea and according to Cecioni was "kept as a treasure . . . by Bertea . . . and is admired by all the artists who visit him" (Cecioni, 1905, p. 319).

Provenance: Ernesto Bertea, Turin (Munich Cat., 1975-76). Giuliano Matteucci *(ivi).*

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 220a, pl. 220a.

**Cristiano Banti**
**125.** *Lavoranti di paglia della Val d'Elsa/The Straw Weavers of Val d'Elsa,* 1886 (Plate XI)
Oil on panel
17 × 43 cm./6¾ × 16⅞ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Manchester-Edinburgh 1982, no. 50)

Between 1875 and 1886, Cristiano Banti did a series of paintings drawn from rural life, as during the *macchia* period. However, these paintings differed from the earlier ones in their idyllic, refined, and melancholy overtones. The influence of a certain kind of French naturalism, inspired by the subject of work in the fields and practiced by Breton and Bastien-Lepage, had begun to make its presence felt in Tuscany through the work of Simi, Gioli, and Ferroni.

Banti wrote to Ferdinando Martini about the *The Straw Weavers* in a letter dated June 2, 1886: "This little picture depicts straw workers in Val d'Elsa . . . it is necessary to let it dry very well and then give it a light coat of very diluted varnish, and if I should have the honor of having it hung on some wall, I pray you to place it in a light opposite to the source of light in the painting" (Dini, 1975, p. 59). Banti's apparent concern with the effect of light, both within and without the painting, underlines the preciosity of these small "jewel-like" paintings. In terms of composition, *The Straw Weavers* belongs to a whole series of long narrow paintings Banti did of women moving through the landscape in procession-like fashion [such as *Passeggiata sotto la pioggia (Promenade in the Rain)* (1880) (Tokyo, no. 14) and *Boscaiole con fascine (Wood Gatherers with Faggots)* (c. 1881-84)].

The subject matter is not unusual. Straw weaving was a cottage industry in Tuscany, and had been the subject of Borrani's *Women Braiding in the Sun* (c. 1865) (cat. no. 104) and Fattori's *The Grass Gatherer* (c. 1867).

This work by Banti remained unknown for a long time and was published for the first time only a few years ago.

Provenance: Ferdinando Martini, Monsummano. Giacinto del Drago, Monsummano. Sotheby's Sale, Florence 1981, no. 656.

Exhibitions: Venice, 1928. Milan, *Banti,* 1982, no. 42. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 50.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**126.** *Ragazze che dipanano la matassa/Girls Winding a Ball of Yarn,* c. 1880 (?)
Oil on canvas
68 × 45.5 cm./26¾ × 17⅞ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *O. Borrani*
National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome
(Florence 1976, no 236)

Cecchi writes about this painting: "Few nineteenth-century painters were constantly engaged, as Borrani was, in the portrayal of subjects that seem unavoidably doomed to all the limitations of genre painting, given Borrani's poor sense of composition and decorative instinct. Yet even when, as is the case here, there is an excess of *gaucherie* which manifests itself in the painter's inability to find a decorative motif to hold the scene together and to lift it above its own uncertainties and internal fissures, the unsteadiness of the painter's hand endows the work with a strangely lively, confident quality" (Cecchi, 1926, p. 663).

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence. Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 32, pl. XXII. Roberto Soria, Milan. Soria Sale, 1931, no. 86, pl. XII. Gabriele Mazzotta, Milan. National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (since 1974; purchased from Gabriele Mazzotta; inv. no. 5598).

Exhibitions: Milan, 1953, room X, no. 184. Munich, 1975-76, no. 218, pl. 218. Florence, 1976, no. 236. Paris, 1978-79, no. 127. Lugano, 1979, no. 128.

**Odoardo Borrani**
**127.** *Lo spaccapietre/The Stonebreaker,* c. 1880
Oil on panel
26 × 14 cm./10¼ × 5½ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *O Borrani*
Private collection, Carpi
(Florence 1981, no. 134)

The theme of the stonebreaker was a common one for the proponents of realism in nineteenth-century European art; the most famous image of the stonebreaker was the landmark work by Gustave Courbet, *Casseurs de pierres (The Stonebreakers*; formerly in Dresden, now destroyed). Courbet's realism shows the laborers as heroic, monumental figures, and describes details of their dress and the effort of their exertions. Borrani's picture, on the other hand, is more of an impression of the subject: a very small picture which shows the stonebreaker sitting on the ground, his legs splayed on either side of the stones which he is pounding with a hammer.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence. Sant'Andrea Gall. Sale, 1953, no. 6. Finarte Sale, Milan, 1966, no. 47, pl. 47.

Exhibiitons: Florence, 1981, no. 34.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**128.** *Al pianoforte/At the Piano*, 1873
Oil on panel
23 × 31 cm./9 × 12¼ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *V. D'Ancona*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 203)

This small painting reveals D'Ancona's interest in the depiction of domestic scenes through rapid notations of color. This same interest is apparent in a similar painting from the period, *Nello studio (In the Studio)* (cat. no. 131) which is one of D'Ancona's finest works. This painting is reminiscent of Signorini's well-known 1867 painting *Al pianoforte (At the Piano)* (Somarè, 1928, pl. 168), and can also be compared to Cecioni's *Lezione di piano (The Piano Lesson)*, datable to between 1863 and 1866.

Provenance: Private collection, England. Sotheby Sale, 1972, no. 46, repr. Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 16, pl. 16. Piero Dini, Milan (Munich Cat., 1975-76).

Exhibitions: Munich 1975-76, no. 196, pl. 196. Florence, 1976, no. 103. Tokyo, 1979, no. 38. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 49. Pistoia, 1983, no. 62.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**129.** *La finestra sul pomaio/Window on the Orchard*, 1873
Oil on canvas
34 × 27 cm./13⅜ × 10⅝ in
Dated on the lower left-hand side: *1873*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1980, no. 29)

This painting portrays Blanche, the sister of Henriette Oulmann, at a window at the Oulmann villa on the Rue de Madrid in Paris. Henriette was the wife of Giacomo D'Ancona, the painter's brother and the personal physician of the composer Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868). Executed in 1873, it is one of the last works completed by D'Ancona in Paris.

Provenance: Henriette Oulmann D'Ancona, Paris. Margherita D'Ancona Aghib, Paris. Flora Aghib Levi D'Ancona, Florence.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 29.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**130.** *Nudo/Nude*, 1873
Oil on canvas
26.5 × 41 cm./10⅜ × 16¼ in.
Signed and dated on the upper left-hand side: *V. D'Ancona, 1873*
Civic Gallery of Modern Art, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 204)

This painting is not mentioned in Cecchi's penetrating study of D'Ancona written in 1927. This omission is puzzling in view of the fact that the painting was part of a collection that was well known to Cecchi (i.e., the Onori-Puini collection). Some critics believe that Cecchi disregards the painting simply because he sees in it the lingering traces of the cold academic style (as he perceives in the smaller works of Flandrin or Chassériau). This painting does indeed exhibit some of the same characteristic features of the nudes from D'Ancona's last period, particularly in the details of the room and the furnishings. However, the execution of the painting is not nearly as polished and over-refined as in D'Ancona's later nudes.

Provenance: Matilde Onori-Puini. Gallery of Modern Art, Milan (since 1926; gift of Matilde Onori-Puini; inv. no. 3575; G.M.A., Milan, 1935 Cat., no. 615, repr.).

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 198, pl. 198. Florence, 1976, no. 204.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**131.** *Nello studio/In the Studio,* 1875
Oil on panel
28 × 21 cm./11 × 8¼ in.
On the frame, at the center top, in ink: *Vito D'Ancona/donato al Fattori/Proprietà di M. . . . [gift to Fattori/Property of M. . . .]*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 202)

This painting, which can be dated circa 1875 on the basis of the style of the woman's clothing, was praised by Cecchi (in "Vito D'Ancona," 1927, p. 298) "for the resolute manner in which all concern for coherence and formal evidence is sacrificed in favor of color." Cecchi points out, however, that D'Ancona elsewhere attains an "equal intensity of effects, but with greater balance. . .filtering color in a carefully structured use of light," as in the *Signora in conversazione (Woman in Conversation)* (cat. no. 132). The fact that D'Ancona gave this painting to Fattori is proof of the intimate friendship between the two artists.

Provenance: Giovanni Fattori, Florence. Mario Galli, Florence (Florence Cat., 1910). De Farro Sale, 1914, no. 296, pl. 29. Academy Gallery, (1910 Inv., no. 542). Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. Cat. no. 233; G.M.A., Florence, 1934 Itin., p. 17, room XXI, repr. p. 51; G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 19, repr. p. 63).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 597. Rome, 1952, p. 37, pl. XXV . Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 47. The Hague, 1971-72, no. 18. Munich, 1975-76, no. 197, pl. 197. Florence, 1976, no. 202. Paris, 1978-79, no. 115. Lugano, 1979, no. 116. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 48.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**132.** *Signora in conversazione/Woman in Conversation,* c. 1875
Oil on canvas
36 × 21 cm./14¼ × 8¼ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 201)

This work, one of D'Ancona's best-known paintings, clearly displays the artist's interest in certain Dutch painters such as Gabriel Metsu, Gerard Terbroch, Pieter De Hooch, and Jan Vermeer, whose work D'Ancona had first seen in the Demidoff collection in Florence, and was later able to study in depth at the Louvre and in London.

"This interest of D'Ancona for Dutch painting," writes Cecchi, "is seen in the voluptuous, erotic tones typical of our painter, as well as in his choice of genre themes presented in an enclosed, deep light which descends somewhat heavily from between dark, heavy curtains and creates a sense of meditation, silence, and secrecy. . .One should also keep in mind the frequency with which D'Ancona employs the same artifice so popular among certain Dutch painters, i.e. to represent figures with their backs turned, or otherwise hide their faces, in order to augment the sense of mystery of their presence" (Cecchi, "Vito D'Ancona," 1927, p. 298).

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Somarè, May 1925). Enrico Somarè (Cecchi, "V.D'A.", 1927). Laureato di Gesù, Milan (Pischel, 1945). Macch. Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 15, pl. 15.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1926, no. 116. Rome, 1930, room XX, no. 32. Lugano, 1948, no. 28. New York, 1949, no. 50, Rome, 1952, p. 37, pl. XXIV. Rome, 1956, no. 24. Florence, 1976, 1976, no. 201. Paris, 1978-79, no. 114. Lugano, 1979, no. 117. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 46. Pistoia, 1983, p. 61.

**Vito D'Ancona**
**133.** *Veduta di Volognano/View of Volognano,* 1878
Oil on canvas
38 × 26 cm./15 × 10 in.
Signed and dated in the lower center of the picture: *Vito D'Ancona, 1878*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1980, no. 31)

Although there is a slight difference in the dimensions, this painting is in all likelihood the same one noted as item 23 in the manuscript catalogue of the Rinaldo Carnielo collection, a painting by D'Ancona entitled *Veduta di Volognano/Sua villa (View of Volognano/His Villa).*

This painting shows a view of Volognano, a small town in the Arno valley near Pontassieve, where the D'Ancona family owned a villa. The artist's uncle, Laudadio della Ripa, also owned a large agricultural estate surrounding the castle visible in the painting. The exact location can be identified today in a nineteenth-century photograph of the villa in the possession of the painter's heirs. As noted in the 1984 Stair Sainty Matthiesen catalogue, D'Ancona stayed in this area various times after his return from Paris in 1875. This painting is an example from his last year of artistic activity, as a debilitating illness due to syphilitic infection forced him to abandon painting after 1878.

Provenance: Ugo Bertini, Florence. Stair Sainty Matthiesen Gallery Sale, 1984, no. 23.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1980, no. 31.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**134.** *Carro di carbonaio/The Charcoal Burner's Cart*, c. 1872-75
Oil on panel
33 × 19 cm./12⅞ × 7½ in.
Collection of Adelmo Orsenigo

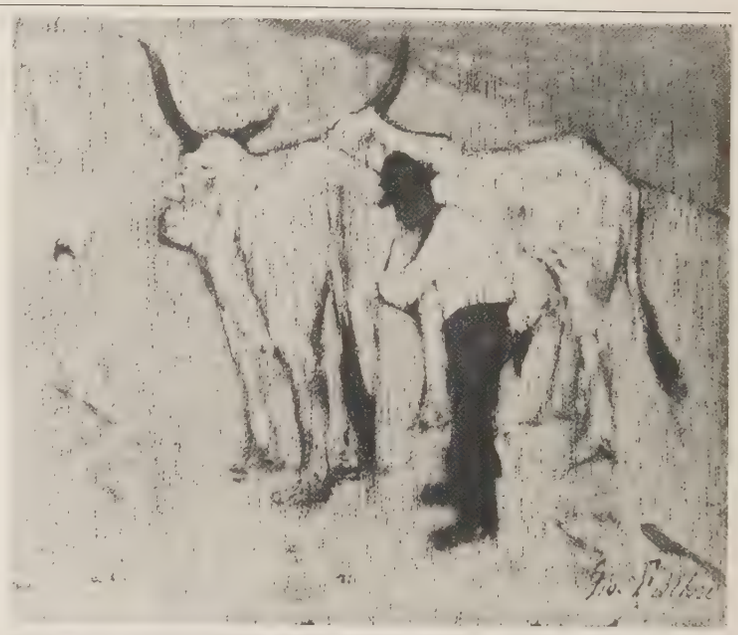
The Castiglioncello area, in addition to its grain and vines, contained areas of brushwood, oaks, and myrtle trees, which were cut mainly for the production of charcoal, a major product of the Maremma. This work is similar in style to Fattori's *L'Arrivo dei Carri (Wagons Arriving)* (New York Cat., 1963-64, p. 169)

Provenance: Giustiniani Sale, 1929, no. 185, plate XC.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room V, no. 50.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**135.** *Bifolco e buoi/Peasant with Oxen*, c. 1878
Oil on panel
10.5 × 13 cm./4¼ × 5¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 225)

The mood, style, and technical qualities of this small work closely resemble those of the following painting (cat. no. 136), and the two works were probably painted within the same period. In the painting seen here (from which Fattori derived one of his most successful etchings a few years later), the color does not articulate form but is utilized primarily for its expressive qualities.

Provenance: Mario Galli, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913). Riccardo Gualino, Turin (Gualino Coll., 1928, pl. 115). Zaccaria Pisa, Milan. Pisa Sale, 1934, no. 260, pl. 93. Ermanno Luti, Florence (Stramezzi Coll., 1949). Paolo Stramezzi, Crema (Stramezzi Coll., 1949, repr. p. XI). Enrico Piceni, Milan. Piero Dini, Milan. *'800* Sale, Manzoni Gall., 1972, pl. 9.
Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 6, no. 31. Florence, 1925, room H, no. 39. Turin, 1926, no. 84. Munich, 1975-76, no. 112, pl. 112. Florence, 1976, no. 225. Paris, 1978-79, no. 74. Lugano, 1979, no. 76. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 32.



**Giovanni Fattori**
**136.** *Impressioni fuori di Porta Romana/Impressions Outside Porta Romana*, c. 1878
Oil on panel
17 × 14 cm./6¾ × 5½ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 224)

This painting (like many others which depict sites around the Cascine and elsewhere in Florence) shows the persistent traces of the style Fattori developed at Castiglioncello. Fattori revived the Castiglioncello style of painting in different phases of his career, and never quite abandoned it altogether. However, compared to the earlier paintings, these "impressions" capture a more melancholy feeling, reminiscent of his Leghorn period.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence (Malesci, 1961). Gustavo Sforni, Florence (Soffici, 1921). Mario Galli, Florence (Ghiglia, 1913). Galli Sale, 1928, no. 14, pl. 14. Riccardo Gualino, Turin (Leghorn Cat., 1953).
Exhibitions: Rome 1921, room 6, no. 41. Florence, 1925, room H, no. 51, repr. Leghorn Cat., 1953, no. 46, pl. 46. Florence, 1953, no. 46, repr. Rome Cat., 1956, no. 91, pl. 38. Munich, 1975-76, no. 113, pl. 113. Florence, 1976, no. 224. Paris, 1978-79, no. 73. Lugano, 1979, no. 75. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 31.

This work probably dates from the years of Fattori's relationship with Amalia Nollemberger, a young Hungarian woman with whom the artist kept up an active correspondence between 1878 and 1881, (see Giovanni Fattori, *Lettere ad Amalia*, ed. Piero Dini, Florence 1983), who lived in the Porta Romana area of Florence.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**137.** *Gotine rosse/Little Red Cheeks,* c. 1880-90
Oil on panel
40.5 × 29 cm./16 × 11⅜ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *G. Fattori*
Civic Gallery of Modern Art, Turin
(Florence 1976, no. 280)

In 1882 Fattori went to the Maremma around Grosseto for the first time, and visited La Marsiliana, the estate of Prince Corsini, a Florentine aristocrat and collector of paintings of the Macchiaioli. It seems that this portrait dates from one of the first visits by Fattori to La Marsiliana. He must have visited the estate again after 1882, when he did the paintings of the *butteri* (horsemen) during the last years of his life.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence (Leghorn Cat., 1953). Mario Galli, Florence (Cecchi, 1920). Galli Sale, 1928, no. 48, pl. 48. J. Laurent, Turin. Laurent Sale, 1930, no. 212, pl. LXVIII. Civic Gallery of Modern Art, Turin (since 1930; purchased from Laurent; inv. no. 1016; Turin Museum Cat., 1968, p. 142, pl. 71).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 5, no. 53. Florence, 1925, room H, no. 13, repr. Paris, 1935, no. 90. Turin, 1952, p. 55, pl. 101. Leghorn, 1953, no. 59, pl. 59. Florence, 1953, no. 59, pl. 59. Rome, 1956, no. 102. Munich, 1975-76, no. 260, pl. 260. Florence, 1976, no. 280. Paris, 1978-79, no. 139. Lugano, 1979, no. 141.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**138.** *Cavalli al sole/Horses in the Sunlight,* c. 1885-90
Oil on panel
32 × 59 cm./12⅝ × 23¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
Private collection, Crema
(Florence 1976, no. 279)

According to Somarè, this well-known work by Fattori dates from between 1880 and 1895 but Cecchi dates it more precisely to 1885-90 (Cecchi, 1929, p. 42). It appears to have been done at the same time as *Il buttero (The Horseman)* and *La libecciata (The Southwesterly Gale).* There exists another smaller version of this painting and a drawing.

Provenance: Fernand Riblet (Malesci, 1961). Mario Galli, Florence (Tinti, *G.F.*, 1926). Galli Sale, 1928, no. 40, pl. 40. Enrico Checcucci, Florence (Rome Cat., 1930). Paolo Stramezzi, Crema (Stramezzi Coll., 1948, p. 11, pl. 5).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 12. Florence, 1925, room H, no. 6, repr. Venice, 1928, rooms 7-14, no. 105. Rome, 1930, room XXVII, no. 14. Paris, 1935, no. 89. Lugano, 1948, no. 68. Rome, 1952, p. 31, pl. XVI. Rome, 1956, no. 130, pl. 48. Leghorn, 1962, no. 33. Munich, 1975-76, no. 262, pl. 262. Florence, 1976, no. 279. Paris, 1978-79, no. 141. Lugano, 1979, no. 143.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**139.** *La marcatura dei puledri in Maremma/The Branding of the Colts in the Maremma,* 1887
Oil on canvas
95 × 188 cm./37½ × 74 in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *Giovanni Fattori/1887*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 283)

Fattori wrote to his friend Amalia Nollemberger in April 1882: "Yesterday I saw some interesting things, and the day went better. There was the castration and branding of at least one hundred horses. . . .They do it like this: They throw a rope with a slip knot around the horse's neck and then tighten it. Afterwards they grab them, throw them on the ground and tie their legs together. Then there is a man. . . who makes a cut, grasping the scissors, and then a sharp branding iron is applied to burn and cut the skin. Afterwards pitch, grease and cold water are applied. They untie the horse and away it goes. The work of branding is more or less the same. They take a branding iron with the landholder's insignia on it and they imprint it on the horse's thigh. All this deserves quite a beautiful painting" (*Lettere ad Amalia,* ed. Piero Dini, 1983). The project to paint these scenes that had so fired Fattori's imagination was undertaken in the following years, after he had completed a number of careful studies, including two sketches and a series of drawings now in the Leghorn Museum and in the collection of prints and drawings at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

Provenance: Edoardo Bruno, Florence (Rome Cat., 1921). Scroffa Coll., Siena (Bianciardi-Della Chiesa, 1970).

Exhibitions: Venice, 1887. Bologna, 1888. Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 37. Florence, 1925, room I, no. 13, repr. Paris, 1935, no. 83. Florence, 1976, no. 283. Tokyo, 1979, no. 70.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**139A.** *I butteri/The Horseman,* 1893
Oil on canvas
200 × 300 cm./78¾ × 118⅛ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori 1893*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Florence 1976, no. 287)

Fattori was particularly fond of this imposing painting (he left it to the Civic Museum in Leghorn), the largest in size among those inspired by life in the Maremma. Preparatory work for this painting, which was completed in 1893, included other paintings on the same subject — the so-called *Maremma,* completed in 1894, and the later *Conduttori di mandrie (Herdsmen)* — as well as many drawings. A drawing of the central figure of the *buttero* is at the Uffizi Gallery, while two others, one a study of the right hand holding the stick (cat. no. 172), the second a sketch of the other buttero seen from behind, are in the Leghorn museum. This painting was shown by Fattori at the 1903 Venice Biennale with the title *Butteri maremmani conduttori di mandrie (Maremman Horsemen Herding Cattle).* According to Anna Franchi (1903), Fattori could not find a buyer; in 1905 the painting was still for sale for a very small sum (180 lire). It seems, furthermore, that for lack of funds he had to send the painting to Venice without a frame. Francesco Arcangeli (1969) described this work as composed "of austere, Western-looking narrative space in which the artist's incisive and rugged palette has portrayed three horsemen — one from the front, one from the back, and one silhouetted in the distance — with a possible unconscious allusion to the Quattrocento, in the midst of the intricate movement and . . . turmoil of the herd of cattle. . . ."

Provenance: Giovanni Fattori, Florence. G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn, from 1908, inv. no. 20.

Exhibitions: Pittsburgh, 1900 (Malesci). Venice, 103, room G, no. 28. St. Louis, 1904 (Malesci). Rome, 1921, no. 36. Florence, 1925, room D, no. 10. Leghorn, 1953, no. 76, plate 76. Florence, 1953, no. 76. Florence, 1976, no. 287.

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**Giovanni Fattori**
**140.** *Sulla spiaggia/On the Beach,* c. 1894
Oil on canvas
69 × 100 cm./27¼ × 39⅜ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Florence 1976, no. 292)

A painting by Fattori entitled *On the Beach* was shown at the 1894 Fine Arts Exhibition in Florence. It was probably this painting, which was executed during the same period as *Marina a Livorno (Beach at Leghorn)* (Florence 1976, no. 294). The same figure of the fisherman, and the outline of the rocks on the sea, appear in a small work entitled *Marinaio sulla scogliera (Sailor on the Reef)* (Malesci, 1961, no. 727), which probably served as a study for this painting.

The poetic realism of *On the Beach,* with its eloquent and concise representation of both the single figure and those of the two fishermen resting, recalls Giovanni Verga's classic novel about the life of a family of fishermen in Sicily, *I Malavoglia* (1881). Verga was one of the main representatives of a new literary naturalism *(verismo)* that emerged in Italy around 1880. The iconology of Luchino Visconti's neo-realist adaptation of *I Malavoglia* into a film *(La terra trema,* 1948), with its powerful contrasts of light and shadow, and the silhouettes of the fishermen against the sea, may have been influenced by Fattori's work, as Visconti had extensive knowledge of this art.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence. G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn (since July 1, 1908; purchased from Malesci; inv. no. 1; Leghorn Museum Cat., 1935, Fattori room, no. 20, repr.; Leghorn Museum Cat., 1950, room III, no. 5, repr.; Fattori Cat., Leghorn, 1973, p. 18, repr.).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1894-95, room II, no. 93. Rome, 1921, room 4, no. 19. Florence, 1925, room D, no. 8. Rome, 1927-28, no. 16, repr., no. 20. Leghorn, 1953, no. 80, pl. 80. Florence, 1953, no. 80. Munich, 1975-76, no. 268, pl. 268. Florence, 1976, no. 292. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 63.

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**Giovanni Fattori**
**141.** *Campagna romana/Roman Countryside,* c. 1896
Oil on canvas
87 × 173 cm./34¼ × 68⅛ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *Gio. Fattori*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Florence 1976, no. 291)

This painting, which some critics date between 1870 and 1880, while others date it 1885, has all the characteristics of Fattori's work during the final decade of the nineteenth century. The preparatory drawing for the figure of the horseman (now in the Fattori Civic Museum in Leghorn) shows clear affinities with drawings for the large paintings of horsemen that Fattori executed during this period, particularly *I butteri (The Horsemen)* (cat. no. 139A) and *Mandrie maremmane (Herd of Cattle in the Maremma)* (Durbé, 1969, nos. 168-189). Similar drawings dating from the same decade are in the Uffizi. From this painting Fattori later derived one of his last, most beautiful etchings.

The question of why Fattori chose to paint huge, monumental paintings of the cattle herders in the Maremma *(The Horsemen* measures approximately six-and-a-half by ten feet) in these last years of his career is deserving of further study.

Provenance: Giovanni Malesci, Florence. G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn (since December 1908; purchased from Malesci; inv. no. 17; Leghorn Museum Cat., 1935, Fattori room, no. 17, repr.; Leghorn Museum Cat., 1950, room III, no. 7, pl. 6; Fattori Cat., Leghorn, 1973, p. 24, repr. 25).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925, room D, no. 2. Venice, 1938, room 9, no. 15. Leghorn, 1953, no. 79, pl. 79. Florence, 1953, no. 79. Rome, 1956, no. 161. Florence, 1976, no. 291.

**Giovanni Fattori**
**142.** *Bovi al pascolo/Grazing Oxen,* c. 1896
Oil on canvas
27 × 52 cm./10⅝ × 20½ in.
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 297)

This painting was part of the collection of Diego Martelli and therefore it and its pendant *Lanciere in vedetta (Lancer Standing Guard)* must have been executed by 1896, the year Martelli died. Both paintings show the same dark and dramatic qualities as Fattori's etchings.

Provenance: Diego Martelli, Florence. City of Florence (from 1896, bequest of Diego Martelli). Dep. in the state collections (from 1912; city inv. no. 71). Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. cat. no. 202. G.M.A., Florence, 1934 Itin., p. 18, room XX. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 20, room XX).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1925, room C, no. 20. Florence, 1976, no. 297.

**Silvestro Lega**
**143.** *Il pifferaio/The Fife Player,* c. 1869
Oil on canvas
69 × 54 cm./27¼ × 21¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *S. Lega*
Banca Toscana, Figline Valdarno
(Tinti 1926, pl. 36).

This picture was dated around 1870 by Tinti in 1923, although he later reconsidered and dated it to a time around 1878.

However, the style is similar to Lega's works painted around 1870. At the 1869 Promotrice Lega exhibited a painting entitled *La musica (Music)* and it is possible that this is the same picture.

**Silvestro Lega**
**144.** *Paese con contadini/Landscape with Peasants,* c. 1871
Oil on panel
26 × 59 cm./10¼ × 23¼ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 177)

Between the end of 1870, after the death of Virginia Batelli, and the summer of 1871, Lega spent time at Modigliana in the Romagna. Here he painted a number of works, including *Paesaggio romagnolo (Landscape in the Romagna)* (Florence 1976, no. 176), and most likely this *Landscape with Peasants.* In terms of their inspiration, image, and technique, the two paintings strongly resemble each other. A few critics maintain instead that this painting was painted at the Gabbro (and therefore after 1885-86), and indeed some of its elements do seem to refer to this later period.

Provenance: Gustavo Sforni, Rome. Giovanni Verusio, Rome. Piero Dini, Milan. *Grande Stagione* Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1973, no. 36, pl. 36.

Exhibitions: Bologna, 1973, no. 53, pl. 35. Munich, 1975-76, no. 170, pl. 170. Florence, 1976, no. 177. Paris, 1978-79, no. 120. Lugano, 1979, no. 129. Lyons, 1981, no. 15. Pistoia, 1983, p. 63.

**Silvestro Lega**
**145.** *Le bambine che fanno le signore (bozzetto)/Little Girls Playing Dress-Up* (study), 1872
Oil on panel
24 × 41.5 cm./9½ × 16¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *S. Lega*
Private collection, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 194)

After the death of Virginia Batelli in 1870, Lega's artistic interests seem to have changed. Prior to 1870 he had attempted to convey a poetic idealization of the daily life of the petty bourgeoisie. Now he began instead to make more realistic observations on the lives and social customs of these same people, looking at them in a more objective way, and at times even depicting their daily lives in a somewhat condescending manner. A typical example of the change in Lega's work is found in this *bozzetto*. This work is a study for a larger painting (Florence 1976, no. 195) and focuses on a subject which Lega had treated in a quite different spirit some years earlier, and would treat again in the *Visita alla balia (Visit to the Wet Nurse)* (1873).

Provenance: Maria Galli, Florence (Florence cat., 1921). Galli, Sale, 1926, pl. VI. G. Biasutti, Florence (Modigliana cat., 1926). Giorgio Forti (Rome Cat., 1930). Renato Tassi (Cecchi, 1963). Raoul Reali, Florence (Bologna Cat., 1973).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1921, no. 58. Modigliana, 1926, n. 5. Rome, 1930, room XXI, no. 14. Florence, 1955, no. 7. Montecatini, 1963, pl. 183. New York, 1963-64, no. 59. Bologna, 1973, no. 61, pl. 61. Munich 1975-76, no. 215, pl. 215. Florence, 1976, no. 194. Tokyo, 1979, no. 81.

**Silvestro Lega**
**146.** *Il compito/The Homework*, c. 1873
Oil on panel
33.3 × 37.5 cm./13⅛ × 14¾ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Bologna 1973, no. 62)

This picture, one of Lega's most cohesive and delicate works, has affinities with *L'ora della lezione (The Hour of the Lesson)* (Florence 1976, no. 196). One is tempted to conjecture that they were painted at the same time, around 1873, considering their similarities to *Little Girls Playing Dress-Up* (cat. no. 145). Both Lega and Signorini, especially at this time, had a particular predilection for this subject matter.

Provenance: Mariani Sale, 1933, no. 188, pl. XLVI. M. Taragoni, Genoa.

Exhibitions: Faenza, 1955, no. 291. Rome, 1956, no. 170. Bologna, 1973, no. 63.

**Silvestro Lega**
**147.** *Ritratto di Rinaldo Carnielo/Portrait of Rinaldo Carnielo*, 1878
Oil on panel
61.3 × 46.7 cm./24¼ × 18⅜ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega 78*
R. Carnielo Municipal Gallery, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 234)

The sculptor Rinaldo Carnielo was twenty-five years old when Lega did this portrait. According to Signorini, Carnielo was — along with Panerai, Tommasi, Fanelli, Kienerck, Nomellini, and Bois — a member of that circle of young artists with whom Lega began to spend time at about this period. He was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, and had scored a notable success in Paris in 1878 with his sculpture *The Dying Mozart*. Carnielo, who was also a well-known writer, left behind at his death in 1910 an exceptional collection of paintings by the Macchiaioli.

Provenance: Rinaldo Carnielo, Florence (Florence Cat., 1910). Enzo Carnielo, Florence (Florence Cat., 1933). City of Florence.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 456. Florence, 1933, no. 55. Venice, 1934, no. 33. Bologna, 1973, no. 65, pl. 65. Munich, 1975-76, no. 217, pl. 217. Florence, 1976, no. 234. Paris, 1978-79, no. 121. Lugano, 1979, no. 121. Lyons, 1981, no. 21. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 52.

**Silvestro Lega**
**148.** *La famiglia Dupré in giardino/The Dupré Family in the Garden*, c. 1880
Oil on panel
37.8 × 29.3 cm./14⅞ × 11½ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega*
Private collection, Milan
(Florence 1946 pl. XXXIV)

This painting was first published by Mario Borgiotti in 1946 in a show at the Pitti Palace in Florence, the first of the many exhibitions of Macchiaioli painting which Borgiotti organized. The picture was probably painted around 1880, during Lega's years at Bellariva.

According to the inscription on the *verso* by Odoardo Ciardi Dupré, this painting depicts a domestic scene at the villa in Fiesole of the famous academic sculptor Giovanni Dupré (1817-1882). This painting testifies that, despite the differences between the Macchiaioli and Dupré (he was a traditional sculptor who worked in a dry academic style), they still were on friendly terms.

The woman in the center of the painting, near the gate, is Dupré's wife Giuseppina; the girl sitting on the right is his daughter Amalia, who was a successful sculptor in her own right. The child is Amalia's son Giuseppe.

Provenance: Dupré Family, Fiesole. Mario Borgiotti, Milan.
Exhibitions: Florence, 1946.

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**Silvestro Lega**
**149.** *La lezione della nonna/The Grandmother's Lesson*, c. 1881
Oil on canvas
116 × 90 cm./45⅝ × 35⅜ in.
Initialed on the upper right-hand side: *S.L.*
City of Peschiera del Garda
(Florence 1976, no. 198)

This painting, shown at the Promotrice in Turin in 1881, belongs to a group of works done by Lega between 1881 and 1886 which all share certain similarities in style and in execution. In them one perceives the influence that late European naturalism had begun to have in Tuscany.

The painting was donated by Queen Margherita to the town of Peschiera del Garda in 1898 and was rediscovered only in 1962, after a long period in storage. According to Martelli, Lega sold the painting to the Royal Family for 2000 lire through "the mediation of his landlady," who apparently wished to "be reimbursed for the rent" (letter to F. Martini, Oct. 29, 1884).

Provenance: City of Peschiera del Garda (since 1898; gift of Queen Margherita).
Exhibitions: Bologna, 1973, no. 67, pl. 67. Florence, 1976, no. 198. Paris, 1978-79, no. 109. Lugano, 1979, no. 100. Lyons, 1981, no. 23.

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**Silvestro Lega**
**150.** *In giardino/In the Garden*, c. 1882
Oil on panel
29.2 × 37.8 cm./11½ × 14⅞ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 241)

It is likely that the woman portrayed here is the same one depicted on the cover of Lega's jewelry box (Florence 1976, no. 240) and that these two small images were painted at about the same time. The woman's attitude and clothing, and above all the style of the two paintings are quite similar. The little dog in the foreground here reappears in one of the side panels of the jewelry box, and is also visible in the so-called *Villa a Crespina (Villa at Crespina)*, which was once a part of the Pisani collection.

Provenance: L. De Mari (Florence Cat., 1910). Ferrario Coll., Milan (Munich Cat., 1975-76). Stucchi Coll., Milan (Leghorn Cat., 1962). Giuliano Matteucci, Milan (Munich Cat., 1975-76).
Exhibitions: Florence, 1910, no. 637. Leghorn, 1962, no. 46. Bologna, 1973, no. 68, pl. 68. Munich, 1975-76, no. 222, pl. 222. Florence, 1976, no. 241. Paris, 1978-79, no. 125. Lugano, 1979, no. 124. Lyons, 1981, no. 25. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 53.

**Silvestro Lega**
**151.** *Il pittore Tommasi che dipinge/The Painter Tommasi At Work*, c. 1882
Oil on canvas
37.3 × 27.5 cm./14¾ × 10⅞ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 239)

In this small, graceful work, Lega portrayed his pupil Angiolo Tommasi painting one of the garden paths at Bellariva. This work reminds us of what Martelli wrote in 1885 about Lega in his later years: "He works very hard, even though an illness has been wreaking havoc with his eyesight for years. This illness, however, permits him a perfect vision of masses and does not hinder his perception of colors, so that his work has the serene, joyful quality of the paintings by the French Impressionists . . . ." (Martelli, 1952, pp. 240-43).

Provenance: Bartolomeo Pellerano, Genoa (Rome Cat., 1956). Sperati, Milan. *Maestri '800* Sale, Mondial Gall., 1964, no. 28, repr. Dolomiti Sale, 1971, no. 82. Carini Gall. Sale, 1971, no. 21. Bottega d'Arte Sale, 1971, repr. *Pitt. tosc.* Sale, Spinetti Gall., 1972, no. 25, pl. 25. Piero Dini, Milan (Bologna Cat., 1973).

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956, no. 188. Bologna, 1973, no. 73, pl. 73. Munich, 1975-76, no. 223, pl. 223. Florence, 1976, no. 239. Paris, 1978-79, no. 123. Lugano, 1979, no. 123. Lyons, 1981, no. 28. Hyogo, 1983, p. 120.

**Silvestro Lega**
**152.** *Ritratto di Eleonora Tommasi/Portrait of Eleonora Tommasi*, c. 1884-85
Oil on canvas
48 × 40 cm./18⅞ × 15¾ in.
Private collection
(Florence 1976, no. 238)

Eleonora Tommasi, the sister of the painters Angiolo and Ludovico Tommasi, must have been about twenty years old when Lega painted this portrait of her. A drawing in the Uffizi resembles this painting very closely, especially in the girl's pose, although it appears to depict a different model.

Provenance: B. Maiorsi, Florence (Modigliana Cat., 1926). Ugo Ojetti, Florence (Bologna Cat., 1973).

Exhibitions: Modigliana, 1926, no. 16. Bologna, 1973, no. 75, pl. 75. Florence, 1976, no. 241. Paris, 1978-1979, no. 125. Lugano, 1979, no. 124. Lyons, 1981, no. 25. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 53.

**Silvestro Lega**
**153.** *La Madre/The Mother*, c. 1884
Oil on canvas
191 × 124 cm./75¼ × 48¾ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *S. Lega*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 199)

Signorini provides us with some of the more useful information available about this painting, which is one of the most interesting examples (together with *The Grandmother's Lesson)* (cat. no. 149) of the influence of late European naturalism in Italy. In his review of the 1884 Florence Promotrice (in *Il Fieramosca,* December 27, 1884), Signorini writes: "Silvestro Lega's painting is noteworthy in many respects. The painting portrays a realistic, large figure of a woman with her child. It is entitled 'The Mother.' Here Silvestro Lega paints in the true sense of the term. He does not use the brush to outline contours, but rather molds the color to obtain contour and relief, depth in perspective, effective proportion, and a distinctive sobriety of tone. He is a truly original artist. His paintings bear the marks of an idiosyncratic style well beyond the reach of amateurs and imitators. As in the case of Fattori, the critics do not understand Lega's qualities, and see only his faults. However, they are outspoken about Lega, while they do not dare criticize Fattori because of his powerful position as a jury member of the Academy."

Provenance: Ottavio De Piccolellis, Florence (Bologna Cat., 1973). Count della Gheradesca, Florence *(ivi).*

Exhibitions: Leghorn, 1886, no. 503. Bologna, 1973, no. 76, pl. 76. Florence, 1976, no. 199. Tokyo, 1979, no. 85. Pistoia, 1983, p. 43.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**154.** *La sala delle agitate a San Bonifazio di Firenze/The Ward of the Madwomen at San Bonifazio in Florence,* c. 1865-1870
Oil on canvas
66 × 59 cm./23⅝ × 23¼ in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *T. Signorini 1865*
Gallery of Modern Art, Ca' Pesaro, Venice
(Florence 1976, no. 188)

In the late 1860s, as Italian unity grew closer, the dreams of the Risorgimento were gradually replaced by a new broader awareness of social problems. Among the Macchiaioli, Signorini in particular had been interested in the theme of repression and alienation (witness his painting of *The Venice Ghetto* of around 1860-61) as well as in political and social developments within European culture. This painting marks an important point in the development of Signorini's art, for his style now begins to reflect the kind of raw naturalism that Emile Zola's novels manifested in the realm of literature (and which shortly would come to be known, in Italy, by the term *verismo*).

*The Ward of the Madwomen* was destined to become, near the end of the century and at the most influential point in the history of positivism and *verismo,* one of the works that made Signorini famous. Yet when it was exhibited for the first time at the Promotrice in Florence in 1870 the painting proved somewhat controversial, and perplexed even those critics who were sympathetic to Signorini. The actual date of the painting is not certain, although Cecioni (Cecioni, 1905, pp. 301-311) claims that it was done three years earlier and signed and dated 1865. Another theory suggests that it was perhaps painted sometime between 1868 and 1870. Camillo Boito (Boito, 1877, p. 211) confirms this when he states that Signorini executed the work after he had finished *Aspettando (Waiting)* in 1867.

Despite its mixed reception in Italy, Degas — who passed through Florence in 1875 — liked the painting. He saw it in Signorini's studio; probably the two artists had already met during the Italian painter's stay in Paris two years before. In any case, Degas gave a positive evaluation of the work, as we learn from a letter from Desboutin to Signorini dated April 16, 1875 (now among Signorini's papers at the National Library in Florence): "My dear Signorini . . . Degas was fortunate to have been able to return to your shimmering Italy. . . I have heard from Degas that your work is fruitful and original. He was struck by your artistic direction, and your painting of the *Madwomen* stirred his enthusiasm as a strong and original work."

Provenance: National Gallery of Modern Art, Venice (gift of the Industria and Commercio Veneziani; G.M.A., Venice, 1926-28 Cat., pl. 42; G.M.A., Venice, 1927 Cat., room XV, no. 11; G.M.A., Venice, 1959 Cat., p. 25, pl. 25). From 1941 to 1955 stored in the National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome (N.G.M.A. 1951 Itin., p. 15).

Exhibitions: Turin, 1870, no. 264. Rome 1895-96, no. 128. Venice, 1901, room V, no. 25. Venice, 1921, room 23, no. 13. Florence, 1926, p. 9, no. 18. Berlin, 1937, room 2, no. 37.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**155.** *Via delle Torricelle/Via delle Torricelle,* 1874
Oil on canvas
47 × 38 cm./18½ × 15 in.
Signed and dated on the lower left-hand side: *T. Signorini, 1874*
Private collection, Milan
(Munich 1975-76, no. 186)

This work belongs to a series of paintings done by Signorini in Siena, Florence, and other places in Tuscany beginning in 1861. In this group of works we see Signorini's unique ability to give an unmistakably personal touch to the places that he painted even though the paintings possess an almost photographic quality in the rendering of topography (for example, compare the drawings of a view of Siena, and also the drawing of three streets in the city, with their respective paintings: Durbé 1969, no. 112-no. 115).

*Via delle Torricelle* shows a street along the Arno near the church of Santa Croce (the street was destroyed during the building of the National Library in Florence). It is, together with the view of the little church of Santa Maria Soprarno, the most faithful and direct in its depiction of an actual urban site.

Provenance: Francesco Ciardiello, Florence.

Exhibitions: Munich, 1975-76, no. 186, pl. 186. Paris, 1978-79, no. 113. Lugano, 1979, no. 112.

**Telemacho Signorini**
**156.** *Ponte Vecchio/The Ponte Vecchio,* c. 1879
Oil on canvas
155 × 130 cm./59⅞ × 51⅛ in.
Private collection, Milan
(Munich 1975-76, no. 242)

This painting and three others of the same subject belong to a group that depicts scenes of Florence that Signorini painted in the years beginning around 1879. In both tone and composition *The Ponte Vecchio* is strikingly similar to Signorini's *The Ponte Vecchio of Florence,* 1880 (Tokyo, no. 111). A preparatory study for this painting, done in pencil and bearing an inscription by the artist ("Ponte Vecchio — sold to Mr. Visart of Bath for 5000 fs. in 1881"), still exists today. It would appear that Signorini had already done the drawing by 1879, the year of his return to Italy from England.

Signorini is the one artist among the Macchiaioli who was interested in urban subject matter for its own sake rather than for formal studies in light, shade, and composition. Signorini's trips to Paris in 1861, 1868 and especially 1873-74 exposed him to the work and ideas of Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Emile Zola, and Duranty. Between 1873 and 1884, he also made several trips to England where he could have seen the urban genre scenes of Luke Fildes, William Powell Frith, Arthur Boyd Houghton, and others. *The Ponte Vecchio* certainly owes much to both the French and English social realists.

Provenance: W. Visart, Bath.

Exhibitons: Turin, 1880, no. 757. Munich, 1975-76, no. 242, pl. 242. Tokyo, 1979, no. 111.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**157.** *Leith/Leith,* 1881
Oil on canvas
45.6 × 41.8 cm./18 × 16½ in.
Initialed on the lower left-hand side: *T.S.*
Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence
(Florence 1976, no. 210)

Signorini produced about fifty paintings during one of his prolonged stays in England and France in 1872-1873 and in 1881. Among these are six elaborate paintings taken from studies done in 1881 depicting views of English and Scottish cities, particularly Edinburgh.

*Leith* is one of the most important of these works, being among the largest and most carefully finished of the group. This painting portrays a typical street corner in Leith, a port, shipbuilding, and industrial town just north of Edinburgh on the south shore of the Firth of Frith. As in *The Ponte Vecchio* (cat. no. 156) here too Signorini shows a wide variety of people — constables, school girls pushing perambulators, guardsmen in kilts — in the midst of their daily activities. Although the point of view in the composition is again oblique, the viewer is placed at a further distance from the scene than in the earlier work. This fact, as well as the relatively static poses of the figures and tighter brushwork probably owe much to the work of the English realists.

The wealth of minute detail present in *Leith* is not without significance. In nineteenth-century Scotland advertisements were often painted directly onto the walls of brick buildings. In this painting Reckitts Blue, a laundry whitener, and Rob Roy, a Scotch whiskey, are among the products advertised in the space above the general store.

The inclusion of the Rob Roy label can be viewed as a type of Macchiaioli joke or whimsy containing several levels of meaning. The product bears the name as the hero of Sir Walter Scott's 1818 novel of the same title. Scott's historical novels were an incitement to romantic nationalism throughout Europe at this time, and several of the Macchiaioli painted scenes from these novels, including Fattori's *Mary Stuarda al campo di Crookstone (Mary Stuart on the Battlefield at Crookstone)* (cat. no. 22). Robert Macgregor (1671-1734) or Rob Roy, as he was commonly known, was a Scottish clan leader, highwayman, and Jacobite who gained legendary hero status for his exploits and support of the Scottish House of Stuart's claim to the throne of England and Scotland. In addition, Garibaldi was often called the Rob Roy of Italy for his efforts toward creating an independent, united Italy.

Provenance: City of Florence. Stored in the State Collections (from 1912; City inv. no. 155). Gallery of Modern Art, Pitti Palace, Florence (since 1924; Gen. Cat. no. 282). G.M.A., Florence, 1934 Itin., p. 22. G.M.A., Florence, 1949 Itin., p. 25).

Exhibitions: Florence, 1882, room 33, no. 170. Turin, 1902, no. 699 or 703. Venice, 1909, room 33, no. 10. Berlin, 1937. London, 1930, no. 888. Paris, 1935, no. 195. New York, 1949, no. 94, pl. 94. Rome, 1952, p. 40, pl. XXVII. Rome, 1956, no. 224, pl. 77. Karlsruhe, 1962, no. 40. Munich, 1975-76, no. 235, pl. 235. Florence, 1976, no. 210. Paris, 1978-79, no. 117. Lugano, 1979, no. 118. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 51.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**158.** *Ragazza col vezzo rosso/Girl with Red Necklace*, c. 1881
Oil on drawing board
36 × 33 cm./14⅛ × 13 in.
Initialed on the upper right-hand side: *T.S.*
Private collection, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 268)

Somarè (Somarè, *T.S.*, 1926, p. 40) dates this work to 1881, although there is no documentation to support this. The work is similar to certain paintings of Signorini's late period, such as the *Bambina che scrive (Little Girl Writing)* in the Ojetti collection.

Provenance: Enrico Checcucci, Florence (Somaré, *T.S.*, 1926). Checcucci Sale, 1928, no. 189, pl. CXLII. Modiano Coll., Milan (Munich Cat., 1975-76). Vittorio Duca, Milan *(ivi)*.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1926, no. 145. Cortina d'Ampezzo, 1970, no. 6. Munich, 1975-76, no. 252, pl. 252. Florence, 1976, no. 268. Tokyo, 1979, no. 119.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**159.** *La Piazza di Settignano/The Piazza at Settignano*, c. 1889
Oil on canvas
36 × 51.4 cm./14¼ × 20¼ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *T. Signorini*
Private collection
(Florence 1976, n. 246)

Allusions to works done in Settignano start to appear in Signorini's papers and autobiographical notes from 1879 on. At that time the painter must have begun to visit this beautiful area near Florence, which was to captivate his imagination for many years. The themes of Signorini's paintings at Settignano include views of the small town's center and the streets immediately surrounding it, groups of female textile workers, small paths between walls and olive groves, and views of the countryside and surrounding hills. It is difficult to date these works with any degree of precision because they almost never bear an actual date and were executed over a period of about ten years (ending around 1890).

Provenance: Paolo Signorini, Florence. Signorini Sale, 1930, no. 212, pl. CXVIII. Arturo Toscanini, Milan (New York Cat., 1949).

Exhibition: Florence, 1926, no. 88. Paris, 1935, no. 194. New York, 1949, no. 97, pl. 97. Rome, 1956, no. 242. Leghorn, 1962, no. 54. Munich, 1975-76, no. 228, pl. 228. Florence, 1976, no. 246.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**160.** *Sulle colline a Settignano/In the Hills at Settignano*, c. 1890
Oil on canvas
37 × 50 cm./14½ × 19⅝ in.
Private collection, Montecatini
(Paris 1978-79, no. 136)

This painting, one of the last by Signorini in which the countryside at Settignano appears, strongly recalls the series of portraits by Signorini of the young girl known as Nene whom the painter used frequently as a model during this period.

Provenance: Gall. dell'Esame Sale, 1941, no. 77.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1978-79, no. 136. Lugano, 1979, no. 139.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**161.** *Tra gli olivi a Settignano/Among the Olive Trees at Settignano,* c. 1890
Oil on canvas
35 × 63 cm./13¾ × 24⅞ in.
Signed on the lower left-hand side: *T Signorini*
Private collection, Montecatini
(Florence 1976, no. 249)

Of the many paintings by Signorini which depict the beautiful surroundings of Settignano, this is probably one of the most characteristic and significant. With his clarity of vision and use of color, Signorini gives a personal view of the Tuscan landscape. Olive groves in the spring, foot paths through the hills, and noontime, silent and sun-drenched, are all rendered by Signorini with a sense of poetry.

Provenance: Vincenzo Giustiniani, Florence (Somarè, 1926). Giustiniani Sale, 1929, no. 118, pl. CXLV.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1885, no. 355. Florence, 1926 (Giustiniani Sale, 1929). Cortina d'Ampezzo, 1970, no. 7. Florence, 1976, no. 249. Paris, 1978-79, no. 135. Lugano, 1979, no. 138. Manchester-Edinburgh, 1982, no. 58.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**162.** *Dal santuario di Riomaggiore/From the Sanctuary at Riomaggiore,* c. 1892
Oil on canvas
66.5 × 110 cm./26¼ × 43¼ in.
Signed on the lower right-hand side: *T. Signorini*
United States Embassy, Rome
(Florence 1976, no. 266)

Signorini devoted more than one third of his output in the last twenty years of his life to drawing and painting the places and people in and around Riomaggiore, a tiny fishing village on the coast of Liguria, in the Cinque Terre area.

Signorini visited Riomaggiore for the first time in 1860, during one of his first stays in La Spezia. Only twenty years later, however, did Riomaggiore truly captivate Signorini's imagination. From then on he went to Riomaggiore more frequently: in 1887, 1892, and then again almost every summer until 1899. There exists a vast number of drawings and paintings done at or related to Riomaggiore. Signorini himself helps us to understand the artistic vision behind them in a text published posthumously in 1909 and later reprinted in 1942 (Milan.: S.A.C.S.E. Ed.) accompanied by more than 160 previously unpublished drawings.

Nancy Jane Troyer, in a recent article (*Art Bulletin,* March, 1984), uses this painting as an example of the possible influence of Japanese prints on the paintings of the Macchiaioli.

Provenance: Paolo Signorini, Florence. Signorini Sale, 1930, no. 26, pl. CXVII. Marzotto Coll., Rome (Somarè, 1937). *Racc. Pitt. '800* Sale, Milan, 1939, no. 39.

Exhibitions: Venice, 1901, p. 173, no. 32. Turin, 1902, room XI, no. 693. Rome, 1927-28, room VI, no. 7. Milan, 1930 (Daddi, 1971). Rome, 1956, no. 244, pl. 83. Munich, 1975-76, no. 250, pl. 250. Florence, 1976, no. 266.

**Telemaco Signorini**
**163.** *La toilette del mattino/The Morning Toilette,* 1898 (Plate XIV)
Oil on canvas
120 × 175 cm./47¼ × 68⅞ in.
Private collection, Milan
(Florence 1976, no. 274)

This large painting, one of Signorini's last works, depicts an early morning scene in a house of ill-repute — as Franchi (A. Franchi, Florence Cat., 1910) wrote — in the Via Lontan Mori, a street in the red-light district of the old center of Florence. Its realistic subject made this painting one of Signorini's most well-known works at the time of his death in 1901. What is notable about the composition of this work is the space; it is read right to left suggesting the influence of Japonisme, possibly through the work of Degas.

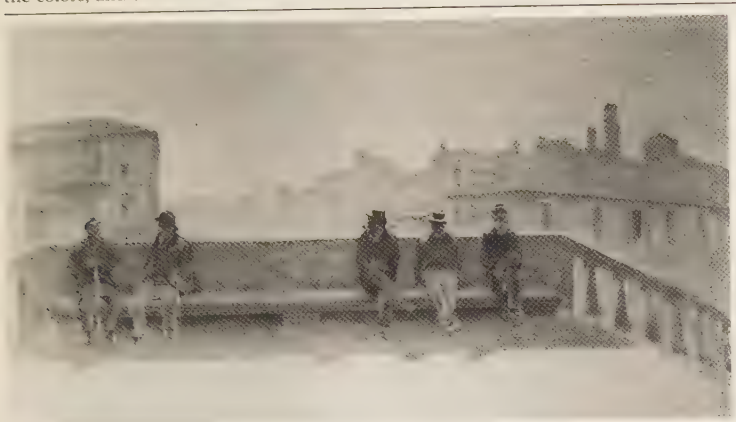
Writing about Signorini in 1909, Pica alluded to the artist's "deep and genuine commitment to *verismo,* i.e. to a rigid and somewhat dry kind of naturalism that characterized the literary production of Chamfleury in France and later distinguished the work of Giovanni Verga in Italy." According to Pica "three of the paintings which most significantly represent Signorini's somewhat harsh, even brutal, and yet highly evocative realistic manner are *The Portoferraio Penitentiary, The Ward of the Madwomen at San Bonifazio, Florence* (cat. no 154) and *The Morning Toilette.* Despite his pugnacious spirit, the witty, irreverent Florentine painter never dared to

send this last work to an exhibition, knowing full well that the subject would have been deemed offensive and unworthy of artistic expression. He therefore kept the painting hidden in a corner of his studio, showing it only occasionally to trusted friends or to a few liberal-minded connoisseurs. Of course nowadays this painting no longer scandalizes anyone at all. Instead, many viewers stop to admire it every day in Venice, praising the skillful grace of the overall composition, the natural attitude of each figure, the freshness and vividness of the colors, and the masterful effect of the light beams penetrating from the two windows into the vast space of the low-ceilinged bedroom" (Pica, 1909, in *Emporium*, pp. 143-144).

It was precisely the painting's realistic emphasis that displeased the generation after Signorini's, who found it excessively literal. Soffici thought that the figures seemed like "colorless ghosts, devoid of a solid presence and without the kind of attitude required by such a low-life subject" (Soffici, 1929, pp. 338-339). While pointing out Signorini's leading role in the technical innovations of the Macchiaioli, Cecchi takes *The Morning Toilette* as a paradigmatic example of the artistic limitations inherent in this kind of pictorial expression: "Doubtless, in the course of Signorini's long development, realistic excesses, experimental crises and decorative digressions seem to intrude somewhat. In *The Morning Toilette* and in the *Garden* one feels that the Tuscan instinct is still struggling to free itself of all spurious elements, and it is not quite clear whether it succeeds or not" (Cecchi, 1926, p. 46). This painting inspired one of the sets for a scene in Luchino Visconti's film *Senso*.

Provenance: Paolo Signorini, Florence (Sapori, *T.S.*, 1919). Signorini Sale, 1930, no. 191, pl. XXXVI. Arturo Toscanini, Milan (Rome Cat., 1930).

Exhibitions: Venice, 1909, room 33, no. 1, repr. p. 77. Florence, 1922, repr. Florence, 1926, no. 172. Rome, 1930, room IX, no. 12. Paris 1935 no. 202. Lugano, 1948, no. 43. New York, 1949, no. 101, pl. 101. Milan 1953 room 10 no. 183, pl. 44. Rome, 1956, no. 250, pl. 85. Leghorn 1962, no. 55. Munich, 1975-76, no. 258, pl. 258. Florence 1976 no. 274. Paris, 1978-79, no. 138. Lugano, 1979, no. 140.



**Telemaco Signorini**

**164.** *Ponte di Vigo a Chioggia*/***The Vigo Bridge at Chioggia***, c. 1901
Oil on canvas
36 × 62 cm./14⅛ × 24⅜ in.
Collection of Adelmo Orsenigo
(Somarè, *Telemaco Signorini*, 1922, pl. 71)

Several drawings by Signorini attest to his presence on Chioggia, one of the islands of Venice, in June 1897 and May 1899. This painting is probably the result of sketches made from life on one of those occasions. Its melancholy tone and humanitarian subject matter recall the works of the painter Angelo Morbelli (1853-1919); and yet it has a certain tone of caricature and irony that save it from any sentimentalism. This is the last picture painted by Signorini; it was found unfinished on his easel at the time of his death.

Provenance: Paolo Signorini, Florence. Geri Sale, n.d., no. 28. Geri Gall. Sale no. CXLIII, 1930, no. 13. Signorini Sale, 1930, no. 34, pl. LXXXII. Berganini Sale, 1935, no. 182, pl. 182. Spinetti Gall. Sale, 1963, pl. 9. Bolaffi, 1964, p. 423.

Exhibitions: Turin, 1889, no. 463. Florence, 1922. Florence, 1926.

# WORKS ON PAPER

## DRAWINGS BY GIOVANNI FATTORI

**165.** *Bersagliere che presenta le armi*/***Sharpshooter Presenting Arms***, c. 1859-60
Pencil on white paper
19.5 × 13 cm./7⅝ × 5 in.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 12)

**166.** *Cavalieri e fanti in azione*/***Cavalry and Infantry in Action***, c. 1859-60
Pencil on brown paper
21.2 × 30 cm./8⅜ × 12¾ in.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 10 *verso*)

**167.** *Soldato austriaco colpito che si abbatte*/***Wounded Austrian Soldier Falling to the Ground***, c. 1859-62
Pencil on gray-green paper
32 × 23.7 cm./12½ × 9⅜ in.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 43)

**168.** *Soldato riverso*/***Fallen Soldier***, c. 1859-62
Pencil on beige paper
32 × 19.8 cm./12½ × 7¾ in.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 46)

**169.** *Erbaiola di profilo*/***Profile of Grass Gatherer***, c. 1861-67
Pencil on white paper
32.2 × 23.5 cm./12⅝ × 9¼ in.
Signed in the lower right hand side in pencil: *Gio. Fattori.* On the *verso*, in pencil, academic studies of male nudes.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 60)

**170.** *Ufficiale a cavallo di fronte*/***Frontal View of Officer on Horseback***, c. 1866-68
Pencil on beige paper
19.9 × 15.5 cm./7¾ × 6 in.
On the *verso*, on the upper left-hand side, the number 55.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 71)

**171.** *Quadrato di fanteria*/***Infantry Squadron***, c. 1876-80
Pencil, brown ink and gray watercolor on beige paper
27.6 × 49.6 cm./10⅞ × 19½ in.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 138)

**172.** *Braccio di un buttero che impugna il bastone*/***Detail of a Horseman Holding a Staff***, c. 1887-96
Pencil on ivory paper
27 × 21.2 cm./10⅝ × 8¼ in.
On the *verso*, in the upper right-hand side, in pencil: *Cavallo e soldato [Horse and Soldier].*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 179)

**173.** *Buttero a cavallo chino sulla sella*/***Mounted Horseman Leaning over the Saddle***, c. 1887-96
Pencil on ivory paper
32 × 22.5 cm./12½ × 8⅞ in.
On the *verso* in the upper right-hand side, in pencil: *Due teste di somaro [Two Donkey Heads].*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 187)

**174.** *Buttero che si abbranca al collo di un cavallo*/***Horseman Seizing a Horse's Neck***, c. 1887-96
Pencil on ivory paper
23.4 × 32.4 cm./9⅛ × 12¾ in.
On the *verso*, on the upper lift-hand side, in pencil, the number 194.
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 172)

**175.** *Il popolo alle corse*/***At the Races***, c. 1896
Pencil and brown ink on white paper
29.5 × 25 cm./11⅝ × 9⅞ in.
At the top, in pen and ink: *Il popolo alle corse.*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 196)

**176.** *Studio per Adua o "Pro patria mori"*/***Study for Adua or "Pro patria mori,"*** c. 1896-1908
Charcoal on white paper
26.6 × 42.9 cm./10½ × 17⅞ in.
On the *verso* in pencil: *Cavallo morto [Dead Horse].*
G. Fattori Civic Museum, Leghorn
(Rome 1970, no. 204)

## ETCHINGS BY GIOVANNI FATTORI

(These works date from the period 1875-1908.)

**177.** *Accampamento/Bivouac*
Etching
19 × 28.5 cm./7½ × 11⅛ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 156)

**178.** *Adia/Adia*
Etching
21.3 × 33.9 cm./8⅜ × 13⅜ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 165)

**179.** *Bauco presso Roma/The Bauco Near Rome*
Etching
23.7 × 13.4 cm./9⅜ × 5¼ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 110)

**180.** *Bovi aggiogati/Yoked Oxen*
Etching
15.1 × 19.1 cm./6 × 7½ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 175)

**181.** *Buttero/Horseman*
Etching
23.2 × 15.8 cm./9⅛ × 6¼ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 106)

**182.** *Cavallo che s'impenna al campo/Horse Rearing in the Field*
Etching
29.6 × 36.1 cm./11⅝ × 14¼ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 162)

**183.** *La cerca del vino/Collecting the Wine*
Etching
26.5 × 16.9 cm./10⅜ × 6⅝ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 126)

**184.** *Contadino e buoi/Peasant and Oxen*
Etching
11.6 × 14.8 cm./4½ × 5⅞ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 9)

**185.** *Dintorni di Fiesole/Outskirts of Fiesole*
Etching
18.4 × 29 cm./7¼ × 11⅜ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 97)

**186.** *Donna del Gabbro/Woman of the Gabbro*
Etching
34.3 × 21.7 cm./13½ × 8½ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 160)

**187.** *Esplorazione/Exploration*
Etching
19.5 × 14.3 cm./7⅝ × 5⅝ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 76)

**188.** *Le gabbrigiane/Women of the Gabbro*
Etching
34.1 × 22.6 cm./13⅜ × 9⅞ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 157)

**189.** *La lettera al campo/Letter at the Camp*
Etching
12.8 × 20.5 cm./5 × 8 in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 143)

**190.** *Lungomare/Along the Seashore*
Etching
6.4 × 30 cm./2½ × 12¾ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 168)

**191.** *Palude/Marsh*
Etching
18.9 × 11.5 cm./7⅜ × 4½ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 35)

**192.** *Palude/Marsh*
Etching
11.6 × 25.2 cm./4½ × 10 in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 91)

**193.** *Pascolo di cavalli/Grazing Horses*
Etching
24.5 × 41.9 cm./9⅝ × 16½ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 164)

**194.** *Raccoglitrice di foglie/Woman Gathering Leaves*
Etching
19.6 × 10.1 cm./7¾ × 4 in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 66)

**195.** *Ragazzo seduto in riva al mare/Seated Boy on the Seashore*
Etching
10.9 × 16.9 cm./4¼ × 6⅝ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 55)

**196.** *Ritorno in caserma/Return to the Barracks*
Etching
18.8 × 13.6 cm./7⅜ × 5⅜ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 63)

**197.** *Soldato d'artiglieria a cavallo/ Mounted Artilleryman*
Etching
17.8 × 8.3 cm./7 × 3¼ in.
Franconi Collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 60)

**198.** *Stradina al sole/Sunlit Street*
Etching
10.3 × 18.1 cm./4 × 7⅛ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 195)

**199.** *Trombettiere con due cavalli/Bugler with Two Horses*
Etching
24.5 × 19.1 cm./9⅝ × 7½ in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 151)

**200.** *Vedetta appiedata/Dismounted Sentry*
Etching
14 × 10.4 cm./5½ × 4 in.
Franconi collection, Rome
(Baboni 1983, no. 14)

## CARICATURES

**Angiolo Tricca**
**201.** *Caricatura di vecchio/Caricature of an Old Man,* c. 1840
Pencil and watercolor on beige paper
80 × 57 cm./31½ × 22⅜ in.
Private collection, Florence

**Angiolo Tricca**
**202.** *Dolfi e Boutier/Dolfi and Boutier*
Dark pencil and watercolor on beige paper
13.5 × 22.9 cm./5¼ × 9 in.
Private collection, Florence

**Angiolo Tricca**
**203.** *Fattori e Lanfredini/Fattori and Lanfredini*
Pencil on beige paper
15 × 21 cm./5⅞ × 8¼ in.
Private collection, Florence

**Angiolo Tricca**
**204.** *Odoardo Borrani e altri personaggi/ Odoardo Borrani and Other Personages*
Pencil and watercolor on beige paper
32.4 × 24.4 cm./12¾ × 9⅝ in.
Private collection, Florence

**Angiolo Tricca**
**205.** *Serafino De Tivoli*
Pencil and watercolor on white paper
26.3 × 19.1 cm./10⅜ × 7½ in.
Private collection, Florence

**Beppe Veraci**
**206.** *Stefano Ussi e Alessandro Lanfredini/ Stefano Ussi and Alessandro Lanfredini*
Pencil and watercolor on beige paper
31 × 23.7 cm./12¼ × 9⅜ in.
Private Collection, Florence

## BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

**207.** Collection of 10 original catalogues from the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti
Florence, 1850-1890
Macchiaioli Archives, Rome

**208.** *Il Piovano Arlotto*
Periodical
1858-59
Labronica Library, Leghorn

**209.** *Il Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno*
Periodical
1867
Bertini collection, Prato

**210.** *L'Arte in Italia*
Periodical
Turin, 1870-1874
Original watercolors by various artists
Labronica Library, Leghorn

**211.** *Storielline*
Florence, 1872
Original etching by Telemaco Signorini
Bertini collection, Prato

**212.** *Il Giornale Artistico*
Periodical
1873-74
Copy originally belonging to Adriano Cecioni
Macchiaioli Archives, Rome

**Diego Martelli**
**213.** *I primi passi*
Florence, 1874
Original etching by Telemaco Signorini
Bertini collection, Prato

**Telemaco Signorini**
**214.** *Le 99 discussioni artistiche*
Florence, 1877
Macchiaioli Archives, Rome

**Telemaco Signorini**
**215.** *Caricaturisti e Caricaturati al Caffè Michelangiolo*
Florence, 1893
Bertini collection, Prato

**216.** *La Fiammetta*
Periodical
Florence, 1896
Bertini collection, Prato

# THE HISTORY OF MACCHIAIOLI COLLECTING

*by Piero Dini*

When the first *macchia* paintings appeared, they caused embarrassment and surprise on the Tuscan artistic scene, and therefore had little success. And yet several of the most noteworthy works shown at the early Promotrici (local exhibitions) were immediately bought by intelligent collectors, who were enthusiastic about the new pictorial style, which was so strongly oriented toward nature and reality.

These collectors included many foreigners who were avid admirers of the art of Telemaco Signorini. One of them, the Englishwoman Isabella Falconer, had purchased paintings by Signorini as early as 1861 and took drawing and painting lessons from him. Falconer soon became a great admirer of another Macchiaioli painter, Giovanni Boldini, whom she commissioned to paint frescoes in the dining room of her villa at Pistoia, where she lived for several months each year; these frescoes are the only example of wall painting in the Macchiaioli style.

In the beginning, between 1860 and 1880, Macchiaioli collecting was motivated by friendship, specific occasions, and by luck. Certain paintings, for example, were chosen by the Promotrice societies as prizes for their members, or, at other times, they were gathered together for a lottery with a final drawing. The lotteries helped both to meet the painters' immediate financial needs, and to introduce art lovers and collectors to the new style.

In 1865-70, after the experience of the "schools" of Castiglioncello and Piagentina, the Macchiaioli returned to their own original style and idiom, and their works, which appeared in every official Italian exhibition, found greater acceptance, partly due to a more advanced awareness on the part of critics. Ferdinando Martini, Camillo Boito, Signorini himself, and above all Diego Martelli (through the *Gazzettino delle Arti del Disegno* and newspaper reviews of art exhibitions) helped these works (of the Tuscan pictorial trend) to gain greater favor, if not greater financial success; and this notwithstanding the fact that the size of the group had quickly diminished due to the untimely death of two of its most vigorous, promising, and dedicated painters: Raffaello Sernesi, who died in 1866, and Giuseppe Abbati, who died in 1868.

However, from a commercial point of view, none of the Macchiaioli — with the exception of Cristiano Banti, who was well off due to a large inheritance left to him by the Marquess Vettori — were doing well during these years. The only one whose career seemed to show promising signs and who benefitted from early sales of his paintings was Signorini, the son of an acclaimed traditionalist painter who was widely known even outside the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Signorini's most supportive collectors were French and English, and in his notebooks the artist himself has left us a detailed list, precise and in chronological order, of every single sale of his works.

Signorini's success was largely due to his ability to cultivate friendships, particularly among the members of the foreign colony in Florence, where his father also had many admirers and faithful collectors of his work; to his highly personal way of interpreting the human figure and landscape; and to the charm of his themes.

It was during the 1860s that the dealer Luigi Pisani showed himself to be a sharp judge of the Macchiaioli. In a far-sighted entrepreneurial move, Pisani opened a gallery in the historical center of Florence, near the most luxurious hotels, and attracted the attention of several sensitive Italian and, above all, foreign collectors. The large showrooms in Pisani's gallery were the scene of a lively artistic exchange due to the presence of critics, collectors, and the painters themselves. Pisani did not limit himself to acquiring works by local artists, but also chose the most noteworthy works from every trend and regional school, in Italy and abroad. The constant activity in acquisitions and sales in Pisani's gallery stimulated interest and curiosity, and often gave rise to lively debates, which tended to draw attention to the new trends rather than to the more time-honored, marketable genre paintings.

During these years Florence was also a center for important foreign art dealers such as Goupil, Oppenheim, Reitlinger, and Molena, who visited the studios of the more famous artists and bought their works. And although interest in the Macchiaioli was quite limited at the time, several works by artists of the new school found their way outside Italy.

The financial straits of these innovative painters were such that they were forced to depend not only upon intelligent art dealers such as Pisani, but also upon minor galleries and even on "shops" where art was not the main product for sale. For example, the mosaic maker Scappini hung in his shop pictures by his impoverished painter friends, who were unknown, derided, and branded with the disparaging nickname of "Macchiaioli."

Hence, in December 1875 the prospect of greater independence and professional recognition led the painters Lega and Borrani to undertake the opening of a gallery of modern art that would not only be commercial, but also openly promotional of their "realistic" painting, as opposed to academic and conventional genre painting. Among the many works exhibited in this gallery were Fattori's *L'Arno alle Cascine (The Arno River at the Cascine)*, and Lega's *Le bambine che fanno le signore (Little Girls Playing Dress-Up)*. However, within a year the undertaking proved to be a horrible failure, plunging the two artists — and particularly Lega, who had already had a large share of misfortunes — back into the most abject financial and spiritual misery. Nevertheless, Borrani, for his own personal pleasure, continued to collect not only some of the most noteworthy works by his colleagues (he owned, in fact, Boldini's portrait of Abbati, as well as some of the finest paintings by Abbati and Sernesi), but also the best of his own works, lovingly keeping and refusing to sell — in spite of his financial difficulties — the paintings which, at various periods, had constituted a crucial experience or a definitive turning point in his long career.

But apart from the holdings of these few intelligent art dealers, acquisitions occasioned by a specific event, and the remnants of failed commercial undertakings, the first real Macchiaioli collections of the nineteenth century were the ones assembled by Cristiano Banti, Diego Martelli, and Rinaldo Carnielo, all of which were different in content, importance, and development.

Cristiano Banti, the only Macchiaioli painter with personal means, had during the early years of the *macchia* shared with his fellow painters the painstaking experimentation, the work in the open air, the enthusiasm, heated debates, and joy of youth, and the first tentative results of the Macchiaioli style. Nevertheless, because of his social standing, Banti had experienced that "magic moment" from a privileged perspective, which, along with his innate good taste and great generosity, enabled him to help his friends by buying their most

successful or significant works. Hence from the early years Banti had begun a collection which, by the time of his death in 1904, was truly remarkable. Banti had not limited himself to acquiring works by the Macchiaioli; he also collected works by other Italian and foreign artists.

Contemporary sources indicate that Banti's collection included more than two hundred works by artists such as Abbati, Borrani, Cabianca, Cecioni, Costa, De Nittis, De Tivoli, Fattori, Lega, Sernesi, Signorini, and Boldini. Except for a few works which were given to Banti by his friends, most of the pictures in his collection were carefully chosen from the Promotrice exhibitions and the various painters' studios. Thus the Banti Collection can be considered the first true, methodical collection of Macchiaioli paintings.

A very different collection was assembled by Diego Martelli, the art critic, journalist, and "guardian angel" of the Macchiaioli, undoubtedly the most interesting personality on the Macchiaioli scene. Martelli, who was financially comfortable but not wealthy like Banti, did everything in his power to further the Macchiaioli movement: he wrote about it; he continually invited the artists to be his guests on his country estate; and he gave them money, even when, during the last years of his life, he was himself experiencing the most humiliating financial difficulties.

Martelli's collection was the outcome not so much of purchases that he had been able to make as it was of the gifts which the artists had given him to express their gratitude. Hence his collection had more gaps and was less representative than Banti's. But after his death Martelli's collection fared better than Banti's; Martelli had had the foresight to bequeath it to the City of Florence, which transferred it, intact, to the Gallery of Modern Art in the Pitti Palace, where it is today.

There were about forty Macchiaioli works in the Martelli Collection, which, however, also included works from the early nineteenth century which he inherited, and several post-Macchiaioli pictures. Martelli's Macchiaioli collection testifies to his taste as a critic and to his generosity as a man. The finest pictures include those by Abbati, almost all of which were painted at Castiglioncello under Martelli's affectionate gaze, and the works by Boldini, Fattori, Zandomeneghi, Lega, Sernesi, and Borrani. The pictures in the collection by Cabianca, Costa, De Nittis, and De Tivoli, by contrast, are of lower quality.

Another remarkable thing about Martelli was his attempt to gather together in a single exemplary collection the works of both the Macchiaioli and the French Impressionists. Martelli, whose portrait appears in two fine works by Degas, was the only Italian critic to fully appreciate the artistic value and historical significance of the Impressionists. He attempted to make Impressionism understood in Italy, and, to realize his dream, had begun his collecting with two pictures by Pissarro, one by Moreau, and several by the Tuscans.

The collection of Rinaldo Carnielo, who lived in Florence from the 1870s on and was a great friend of Cristiano Banti and an admirer of the Macchiaioli, began with the splendid portrait of him done by Lega in 1878. From that time on, Carnielo selected and acquired a considerable number of pictures, enriching his collection after the death of Odoardo Borrani, when he bought several works from Borrani's son. The number of actual Macchiaioli works in Carnielo's collection was relatively small — in fact, he had bought many works by minor artists and by artists from other Italian and foreign regional schools — but was of high quality and included ten pictures by Borrani, the evocative portrait of Abbati painted by Boldini, as well as other pictures by Boldini, De Tivoli, Sernesi, Signorini, Lega, De Nittis, Cabianca, Cecioni, Banti, Abbati, and Fattori. When Carnielo died in 1910, his Macchiaioli collection was broken up and many of his works were sold by Mario Vannini-Parenti to South-American collectors. The Geri Gallery in Milan sold the remaining works in the collection at a much later time, in 1929.

Although these three collections were the richest and most important of those that saw the birth and growth of the Macchiaioli movement, we must not forget the small, but no less significant nineteenth-century collections assembled by friends of the Macchiaioli. These collectors included the Tuscan politician and man of letters Ferdinando Martini, whose collection was made up of paintings commissioned from the Macchiaioli as well as of gifts which the painters themselves gave him, which testify to his considerable political influence. Martini's collection included several major Macchiaioli paintings as well as a collection of caricatures by Tricca; they are still owned today by his heirs, who live in America.

Other small Macchiaioli collections, formed much like Martini's although not always of the highest quality, included those owned by the scientist Gustavo Uzielli, the writer Renato Fucini, Giovanni Montepagani, the three Angioli brothers, and Giuseppe Sacchetti, a good friend of Lega. And other painters of the time also understood the importance of the Macchiaioli: Francesco Gioli owned a number of works by the Macchiaioli artists, whom he often invited to stay on his estate at Fauglia; Michele Gordigiani, a famous portraitist and supporter of painters who were less fortunate than himself, had accumulated, between gifts and purchases, a fair collection, as had the Piedmontese artist Bertea; and in the early 1900s Telemaco Signorini's brother Paolo found himself the owner of hundreds of works by Signorini and his colleagues.

Several of the other "minor" Macchiaioli collectors — minor because their collections were the result of gifts from the painters, or of isolated purchases, and especially of prizes received in the drawings held by the Promotrice societies of which they were members — were representatives of the Florentine aristocracy of the time: Prince Corsini, who several times had Fattori as a guest on his estate; the Marquis Farinola, to whose daughter Fattori gave drawing and painting lessons; Count De Gori, of whom Signorini did various portraits; the Marquess Vettori, Banti's presumptive mother and benefactress, who commissioned works from Signorini, Cecioni, and others; and the publisher Civelli , who later married into the family of the Marquis Ginori, whose daughter was a pupil of Fattori. Other minor Macchiaioli collections were owned by the lawyer Giovanni Rosadi, who had benefitted from Martelli's advice, and by the Genovese engraver Edoardo Chiossone and his brother Agostino.

It is easy to see that until the beginning of the present century Macchiaioli collecting was of high quality but on quite a small scale. Compared to the collecting of works by French artists of the same period, it was extremely slow to develop, for several reasons. The main reason was without a doubt the difference in cultural, economic, and social conditions in France and Italy. At the time, Paris could be

considered the cultural center of the world; Florence, for all its magnificent culture and cosmopolitan atmosphere, certainly could not compete with the French capital. As a result, with the exception of Luigi Pisani and his relatively modest enterprise, the most famous art dealers, although they made frequent trips to Florence, worked out of Paris.

Dealers such as Goupil, Reitlinger, and Durand-Ruel organized exhibits of works by fashionable artists and painters of the Barbizon school as well as by painters like Gericault, Daumier, Corot, Millet, Delacroix, Ingres, Boudin, and Jongkind. And with the advent of Impressionism, the artists of that movement — although they met with opposition, aroused controversy, and had to suffer the same trials and tribulations as the Macchiaioli — found a valiant supporter in Durand-Ruel. At the end of the 1870s this intelligent art dealer, amid fluctuating financial conditions, began systematically to promote the works of the Impressionists, successfully bringing them to the attention of European and American collectors in the 1880s and 1890s. From that time on, both the Impressionists and the Post-Impressionists received the recognition they deserve.

The conditions under which the Macchiaioli operated were quite different. Only De Tivoli, D'Ancona, Boldini, De Nittis, and Zandomeneghi, all of whom lived in Paris for long periods of time, had substantial opportunities to build up a foreign clientele. The most resounding, absolute success was attained by Giovanni Boldini, perhaps the most famous portrait painter of his day, who could boast the largest, most illustrious, and cosmopolitan clientele any painter ever had, and whose works are still to be found in collections all over the world.

But the majority of the Macchiaioli painters were much less fortunate: from Fattori to Lega, Borrani, Abbati, and Sernesi, they had to content themselves with occasional sales to foreign collectors passing through, or to tourists who came to Florence and paid brief visits to the Promotrici shows. Cabianca and Cecioni were no luckier, although they had the opportunity to live for periods of time in Paris and London. Their miserable, at times drastic financial situations — especially that of Cecioni — testify to the difficulties they had in selling their works and their futile attempts to create a foreign market for themselves.

Hence, in spite of the good fortune of a few of the artists of the Macchiaioli movement, the group in general — and indeed, the most talented artists of the group — were poverty-stricken for their entire lives, never succeeding in rising above an existence that was full of tribulations and compromises. What Italian painting in general and Tuscan painting in particular lacked above all was the support of a serious, far-sighted art market, a support that was absent not only during the nineteenth century but also at the beginning of the twentieth. Unfortunately that long period of neglect contributed to the fact that the works of the Macchiaioli are not as well-known today as they otherwise might have been.

At the end of the nineteenth century a young writer, Ugo Ojetti, developed an interest in the Macchiaioli movement. Ojetti not only wrote several brilliant pieces of criticism on the Macchiaioli; he also assembled a highly refined if limited collection of Macchiaioli works which included some very fine pictures by Fattori, Lega, Signorini, Zandomeneghi, De Nittis, Boldini, and Banti, in addition to the famous *Promenade at the Muro Torto* by Antonio Puccinelli, which is considered to be the precursor of the *macchia* style.

In the meantime another writer, Anna Franchi, took to heart the human and artistic stories of these "pioneers," leaving behind lively, enthusiastic writings on the Macchiaioli even though she personally owned only a few studies given to her by artists such as Fattori and Borrani who had lived long enough for her to have the opportunity of knowing them.

Little by little during the early decades of our century, certain intelligent Italian collectors, although only moderately wealthy, began to collect paintings by Macchiaioli artists primarily in Florence and Milan. This fact — if it did not constitute a radical change in taste or in the art market — nevertheless represented a first step toward a renewed recognition of that period in the history of Italian painting, reestablishing enthusiasm for the forgotten Macchiaioli masters.

The flamboyant figure of Mario Galli deserves particular mention for his role in promoting the Macchiaioli in this period. Galli was an extraordinary character to whom even today we are indebted for the many rediscoveries he made and for the stamp of refined taste he gave not only to his own collection, which was a very rich, representative one, but also to the other collections on which he advised. Galli, who was himself a sculptor, became friendly with Borrani and Fattori during the early 1900s. He cultivated these friendships with the two aging painters, whose greatness he sensed even at the end of their careers, since through them he could learn about the origins of the movement in which they had been protagonists. Galli stimulated emerging painters such as Oscar Ghiglia, Ruggero Focardi, and Plinio Nomellini, who were following in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors. He also encouraged writers like Ugo Ojetti, Emilio Cecchi, Enrico Somarè, Mario Tinti, and Anna Franchi to write on the *macchia* style. In fact, Galli became the symbol of the vindication of the Macchiaioli movement. After the death of Diego Martelli, Galli, who lived and worked in Florence, became the Macchiaioli's primary promotor as well as the enlightened art dealer they had never had.

Upon the advent of Fascism, despite the courage and enthusiasm of the group of collectors associated with Mario Galli, the situation caused by the lack of support from art dealers worsened. Official Fascist art criticism, with its tendency toward negative comparisons, insistence on Italian supremacy, and nationalistic fervor, only harmed the reputation of the Macchiaioli. Hence during this period Macchiaioli collecting was limited to isolated Italian patrons and the movement lost the international reputation it had previously established. Nevertheless, there were a few critics such as Roberto Longhi who strongly protested against this attitude toward the Macchiaioli.

During the Fascist regime there was a reversal of the previous trend in Macchiaioli collecting. Whereas up to the end of the nineteenth century the work of the Macchiaioli was forced to leave Italy to find any significant measure of success, now Macchiaioli acquisitions were being made only for isolated collections in northern Italian cities, and a large number of paintings, which during the nineteenth century had been purchased by foreign collectors directly from the artists or at the Expositions, were finding their way back to Italy.

After the end of World War II, a less bombastic, more enlightened attitude on the part of Italian art critics began to stimulate a series of publications and exhibitions that focused on the preemi-

nence of the Macchiaioli over all the other Italian art movements of the nineteenth century. It was at this time that another interesting personality, Mario Borgiotti — in his triple role as painter, art expert, and collector — began to follow the example of Mario Galli with equal enthusiasm and greater commercial shrewdness. Borgiotti was much in demand as a consultant, and many of the Macchiaioli collections assembled since the end of the war bear his mark. Borgiotti was also responsible for several noteworthy publications in which he reproduced the works in the collections he had helped to form.

Once the Macchiaioli were presented in their proper place within the framework of European painting, interest in them began gradually to grow in international as well as Italian artistic circles. This interest was stimulated by the first exhibition of Macchiaioli works in the United States in 1949 (organized by Giuseppe Poggi and Enrico Somarè), which, however, also included works by artists of other nineteenth-century Italian schools. Another important event was the Fattori exhibition organized by Dario Durbé in Leghorn in 1953 and the show devoted entirely to the Macchiaioli organized in Rome in 1956 by Palma Bucarelli. The exhibition organized by Mario Borgiotti and Emilio Cecchi in the United States in 1963, albeit incomplete and rushed, was also significant.

However it has been only in the last ten years that the Macchiaioli have been seriously re-evaluated and made known in an enlightened way in many parts of the world. The first great success of this sort was in Munich in 1975-76, when the first comprehensive exhibition of the Macchiaioli movement was held. Even more resoundingly successful was the largest and most comprehensive Macchiaioli show ever mounted, the one held at the Forte del Belvedere in Florence in 1976.

Since the time of these two crucial shows the rediscovery of the Macchiaioli has been expanded, through the exhibitions organized by Dario Durbé at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1978-79, at Villa Ciani in Lugano in 1979, in Tokyo in the same year, in the Lega exhibition organized by Giuliano Matteucci in Lyons in 1981, and in Manchester and Edinburgh in 1982. As a result, the works of the Macchiaioli are gaining attention in public and private galleries in London, Paris, and New York, and their value on the international art market is steadily rising. In short, Macchiaioli collecting is now experiencing what has been happening for a long time with the works of the French pre-Impressionist, Impressionist, and Post-Impressionist painters: the individual collector who spent a lifetime patiently acquiring works by his favorite artists is coming to be replaced by public and private museums or large banking, insurance, or other institutions with much greater financial resources. Nevertheless, the largest existing collections in Italy today are still in the hands of private individuals.

Finally, it is important to mention the role that several collectors have played in founding public institutions or in making significant bequests to city and state museums. The earliest example is that of Martelli's bequest to the City of Florence in 1896. In our century, the most important instances have been the foundation of the Ricci-Oddi Museum in Piacenza, the Ambron donation to the Gallery of Modern Art in Florence, the Grassi Collection in the Gallery of Modern Art in Milan, and the prestigious Ghiglia donation which included part of the Banti estate to the Gallery of Modern Art in Florence. The most recent donations have been the gifts of Gaetano Marzotto and the Carlo Marchi Foundation to the Gallery of Modern Art in Florence, of a part of the Arnoldo Mondadori Collection to the City of Mantua, and of the Frugone Collection to the City of Genoa.

I have mentioned only a few of the numerous examples of generosity and the desire to preserve the absolute, unrepeatable values of Macchiaioli painting. This ambition is considered by many collectors to be a true mission, especially when one takes into account the seemingly insurmountable bureaucratic and financial difficulties that still exist in Italy today. And yet the deep love of art that a true collector has often leads to a concern about the future preservation of such personal collections. In addition, Macchiaioli collectors have been among the most forceful personalities to stimulate critics and writers; many collectors have become important scholars in their own right. Today as in the past, the task of the collector in many cases is linked to that of the historian.

Our hope today is that this type of collecting can continue to promote the works of a school of painters — the Macchiaioli — that has waited far too long to receive the recognition it deserves in European painting of the nineteenth century.

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